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FOUNDED BY PROFESSOR HENRY ALFRED TODD

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION OF
THE DEPARTMENT OF ROMANCE LANGUAGES
IN COLUMBIA UNIVERSITY

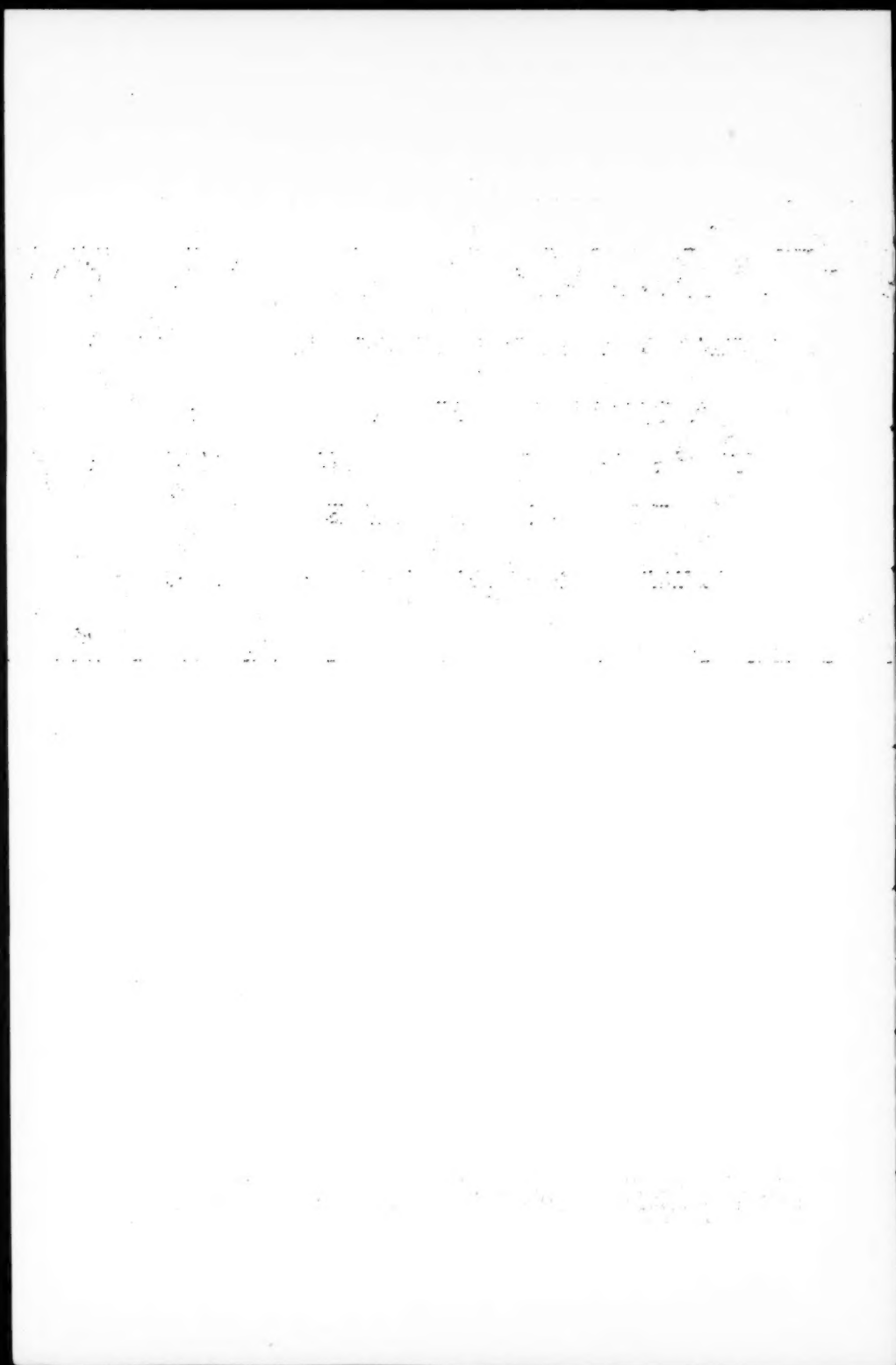
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THE ROMANIC REVIEW

A QUARTERLY PUBLICATION

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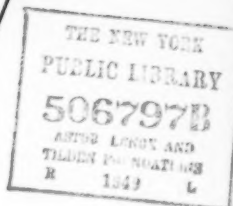
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ANDROMAQUE AS THE "DISTREST MOTHER"

IN THE SPRING OF 1707 the English neo-classicists launched Edmund Smith's *Phaedra and Hippolytus* and were disappointed at its small success.¹ Five years later they offered their patronage to Ambrose Philips' *The Distrest Mother*, perhaps the most successful adaptation of a French tragedy ever produced on the English stage.² In later years these two adaptations of Racine were referred to as timeless examples of "classical purity,"³ but the plays contrast sharply in the authors' approach to their Racinian models. Smith's play is a debased and romanticized version of Racine's *Phèdre* with extensive interpolations from *Bajazet*. The style is turgid and bombastic. The many liberties which Smith took with his originals have made his play a lurid melodrama. Neither Smith nor his admirers admitted any debt to Racine. His panegyrists go so far as to assert the superiority of his play to Euripides' *Hippolytus* and Seneca's *Phaedra*. Racine is beneath their notice. Philips, on the other hand, announces that he has taken Racine as his model and pays the French poet a handsome compliment. He says:

I have had the Advantage to Copy after a very great Master, whose Writings are deservedly admired in all Parts of *Europe*, and whose Excellencies are too well known to the Men of Letters in this Nation, to stand in need of any farther Discovery of them here.⁴

He has no pretensions to originality and makes no claims to superiority. His attitude is reverent and humble.

The great success of Philips' play and the author's attitude toward his model suggest that there existed an ardent cult of Racine in England at the time of the first production of this play. It is important, then, to establish the exact relationship of *The Distrest Mother* to *Andromaque* in order to determine how close an admiring and humble English adapter has been able to come to the spirit of Racine and in order to evaluate eighteenth-century criticism of the play as an index of the English attitude towards Racine. Both Dorothea Canfield and F. Y. Eccles have noted certain changes which Philips makes and commented briefly on them.⁵ But a more

1. For a discussion of this play see Dorothea Canfield, *Corneille and Racine in England*, New York, 1904, pp. 129-139; F. Y. Eccles, *Racine in England*, Oxford, 1922, pp. 9-10; and my article, "The Relation of Edmund Smith's *Phaedra and Hippolytus* to Racine's *Phèdre* and Racine's *Bajazet*," *R R*, December, 1946, pp. 307-328.

2. This is the opinion of Dorothea Canfield (*op. cit.*, p. 140). Allardye Nicoll's list of productions of *The Distrest Mother* supports this opinion. See *History of Early Eighteenth Century Drama*, Cambridge, 1929, p. 348.

3. *The Tryal of Hercules, an Ode on Glory, Virtue, and Pleasure*, London, 1752, p. 3.

4. Preface to *The Distrest Mother*, London, 1712.

5. Canfield notes with approval that Philips has shortened "long declamatory" speeches. This she considers the most serious change introduced by Philips. She notes also the change in the ending, the reappearance of Andromache at the end, her grief for

detailed comparison is necessary to bring out the significance of the adaptation and the criticism of it with respect to Racine's reputation in England.

Philips' preface shows that he looked upon Racine as an exemplar of simplicity of style and his own play as an experiment in the language of tragedy:

In all the Works of Genius and Invention, whether in Verse or Prose, there are in general but two Manners of Style; the one simple, natural, and easie; the other swelling, forced, and unnatural. An injudicious Affectation of Sublimity is what has betrayed a great many Authors into the latter; not considering that real Greatness in Writing, as well as in Manners, consists in an unaffected Simplicity. The true Sublime does not lie in strained Metaphors and the Pomp of Words; but rises out of noble Sentiments and strong Images of Nature; which will always appear the more conspicuous, when the Language does not swell to hide and overshadow them. . . . These are the Considerations, that have induced me to write this Tragedy in a Style very different from what has been usually practised amongst us in Poems of this Nature.⁶

A second aim which Philips has in mind but does not state is revealed in certain significant interpolations which he introduces into his paraphrase of Racine's second preface:

In order to bring about this beautiful Incident [i.e., Andromache's distress for her son by Hector], so necessary to *heighten in Andromache the Character of a tender Mother, an affectionate Wife, and a Widow full of Veneration for the Memory of her deceased Husband*; the Life of Astyanax is indeed prolonged beyond the Term fixed to it by the general Consent of the Ancient Authours. [*Italics mine.*]

As Faguet has pointed out, Racine's *Andromaque* is "une tragédie qui contient un mélodrame." Philips doubtless saw the play as a drama of

the death of Pyrrhus, which Canfield considers "inconsistent but spectacular," and the moralizing sextet with which the play ends. *Op. cit.*, pp. 162-163.

Eccles says: "In general I would say that Philips follows his author scene by scene, and most often speech by speech, is commendably anxious to let nothing drop, and sometimes shows himself skillfully concise; but that his whole tendency is to be explicit where Racine was reserved and that this result is obtained chiefly by a deplorable prodigality of epithet, but also by the systematic addition of moralizing tirades at the end of every act." He does not discuss these tirades further. He notes that Philips dared to deprive his audience of a bloody scene and abstained from scenic effects until near the end. He notes that Philips prolongs the delirium of Orestes and that Andromache is brought back on the stage at the end. *Op. cit.*, pp. 12-13.

6. In this passage Philips is echoing, indeed almost quoting, Addison. In the *Spectator*, No. 39 (April 14, 1711), Addison remarks that in English tragedy the thoughts are often obscured by the "sounding phrases, hard metaphors, and forced expressions in which they are clothed." He considers Shakespeare often "very faulty in this particular." "For my own part," says he, "I prefer a noble sentiment that is depressed with homely language, infinitely before a vulgar one that is blown up with all the sound and energy of expression." An anonymous pamphlet attacking *The Distrest Mother* points out the inconsistency of the neo-classicists who praised Smith's *Phaedra* and *Hippolitus* for sublimity of style and are now praising Philips' play for "humility of language." *A Modest Survey of that Celebrated Tragedy, "The Distrest Mother,"* London, 1712, p. 5.

7. *Propos de théâtre*, II^e série, p. 73.

innocence persecuted and bourgeois virtue glorified. Hence his choice of this particular tragedy as his model. And he was not content with the germ of melodrama which he found in Racine's tragedy. He felt impelled to heighten the melodrama. Rather apologetically he admits having made some changes:

If I have been able to keep up to the Beauties of Monsieur de Racine in my Attempt, and to do him no Prejudice in the Liberties I have taken frequently to vary from so great a Poet, I shall have no reason to be dissatisfied with the Labour it has cost me to bring the compleatest of his Works upon the English Stage.

Since Philips indicates that he regarded his tragedy chiefly as an essay in simplicity of style with Racine as guide, a careful analysis of the style of *The Distrest Mother* as compared with that of *Andromaque* should be our first consideration. Philips' remarks on simplicity of language in his preface do not augur success. They indicate that he had noticed the absence of simile and elaborate metaphor in Racine. But an imitator could hardly capture the peculiar quality of his style merely by abstaining from the use of metaphor and simile. On the positive side, Philips' idea of style forebodes incomprehension of Racine, for no close student of the French poet could think that his style is characterized by "sublimity" rising out of "noble sentiments." And, indeed, an examination of Philips' play shows that everywhere Racine's economy and evocativeness escape his imitator.

Two important characteristics of Philips' style have been noted and commented upon by students of Racine's fortunes in England. Dorothea Canfield approves of the shortening of Racine's long, "declamatory" speeches, which she considers the most serious change introduced by Philips (see above, page 3, note 5). F. Y. Eccles notes the "deplorable prodigality of epithet" in Philips' play (see above, *loc. cit.*). The shortening of long speeches might seem at first glance a commendable process of condensation. But on closer study it is seen to be not at all a pruning of superfluous rhetoric but, rather, indiscriminate excisions. Occasionally some of the essence of Racine is lost. For instance, in the scene between Pyrrhus and Hermione, the latter notices Pyrrhus' abstracted look and says:

. . . *Perfide, je le voi,*
Tu comptes les moments que tu perds avec moi!
Ton cœur impatient de revoir ta Troyenne,
Ne souffre qu'à regret qu'un autre l'entretienne.
Tu lui parles du cœur, tu la cherches des yeux.

(verses 1375-1379)⁸

These lines Philips omits. This omission is significant when you consider that in Racine's psychological drama, in scenes of great tension, the characters scan each other's faces in their desire to penetrate beyond words to

8. References are to the Mesnard edition.

secret thoughts. They interpret or misinterpret a tone of voice, a change of facial expression, a movement of the eyes; and their interpretation of the involuntary gesture often precipitates a critical turn in the action. At the beginning of this scene, Hermione, seeing Pyrrhus approaching, hopes that he may be returning to her and sends to tell Oreste not to attempt to assassinate Pyrrhus until Oreste has talked to her again. At the end of the scene, Pyrrhus' absent look redoubles her fury and seals Pyrrhus' doom. Philips has omitted something characteristic and essential.

Excision is not the only method which Philips employs to shorten the long speeches. He often cuts a tirade with a short speech from the interlocutor. These interruptions, sometimes inept, usually go unheeded by the person addressed. For instance, Andromaque admonishes Pyrrhus:

*Seigneur, que faites-vous, et que dira la Grèce?
Faut-il qu'un si grand cœur montre tant de faiblesse?
Voulez-vous qu'un dessein si beau, si généreux
Passe pour le transport d'un esprit amoureux?
Captive, toujours triste, importune à moi-même,
Pouvez-vous souhaiter qu'Andromaque vous aime?
Quels charmes ont pour vous des yeux infortunés,
Qu'à des pleurs éternels vous avez condamnés?
Non, non, d'un ennemi respecter la misère,
Sauver des malheureux, rendre un fils à sa mère,
De cent peuples pour lui combattre la rigueur,
Sans me faire payer son salut de mon cœur,
Malgré moi, s'il le faut, lui donner un asile:
Seigneur, voilà des soins dignes du fils d'Achille.*

(verses 297-310)

Philips translates:

Andromache: *Consider, Sir, how this will sound in Greece!
How can so great a Soul betray such Weakness?
Let not Men say, so generous a Design
Was but the Transport of a Heart in Love.*
Pyrrhus: *Your Charms will justify me to the World.*
Andromache: *How can Andromache, a Captive Queen,
O'erwhelm'd with Grief, a Burden to her self,
Harbour a Thought of Love? Alas! what Charms
Have these unhappy Eyes, by you condemn'd
To weep for ever?—Talk of it no more.—
To reverence the Misfortunes of a Foe,
To succour the Distress; to give the Son
To an afflicted Mother; to repel
Confederate Nations, leagued against his Life;
Unbribed by Love, unterrify'd by Threats,
To pity, to protect him: These are Cares,
These are Exploits worthy Achilles' Son.*

(page 11)⁹

9. References are to the first edition, London, 1712.

Apparently Philips is merely following a mechanical system of preventing any one character from speaking more than twenty-odd lines without interruption. Dilution and diffusion rather than condensation characterize Philips' translation throughout. Prodigality of epithet is only one aspect of this process. Two examples will suffice to show how a lavish use of banal adjectives dilutes Racine's concentrated style:

Pylade: *J'en rends grâces au ciel, qui m'arrêtant sans cesse
Sembloit m'avoir fermé le chemin de la Grèce,
Depuis le jour fatal que la fureur des eaux
Presque aux yeux de l'Épire écarta nos vaisseaux.*
(verses 9-12)

Pylades: *Blest be the Powers, who barr'd my Way to Greece
And kept me here! e'er since th' unhappy Day,
When warring Winds (Epirus in full View)
Sundered our Barks on the loud, stormy Main.*
(pages 1-2)

Oreste: *Enfin, quand Ménélas disposa de sa fille
En faveur de Pyrrhus, vengeur de sa famille . . .*
(verses 41-42)

Orestes: *And when at last the hoary King, her Father,
Great Menelaus gave away his Daughter,
His lovely Daughter, to this happy Pyrrhus . . .*
(page 2)

It is perhaps this predilection for adjectives which prevents Philips from seeing the importance of verbs in the density and swiftness of Racine's style. Oreste's famous lines:

*J'ai mendié la mort chez des peuples cruels
Qui n'apaisoient leurs dieux que du sang des mortels,*
(verses 491-492)

become in Philips' translation:

*. . . Through stormy Seas,
And savage Climes, in a whole Year of Absence,
I courted Dangers, and I long'd for Death.*
(page 17)

Racine's metaphor "J'ai mendié la mort" is vivid and highly charged with emotion. "I courted Dangers" is a banal and inappropriate metaphor. "I long'd for Death" is padding. Racine's method is to illumine with a sudden flash the innermost thoughts and feelings of his characters. These revelations are unpremeditated, sometimes even involuntary, and therefore must be expressed in the most concentrated and evocative language. In such passages Philips is likely to use twice as many words and say only half as much as Racine. There is a striking example in the same scene from which Philips has omitted Hermione's characteristic lines (see above, page 5). Pyrrhus

has come to inform Hermione of his approaching marriage to Andromaque. Up to this point he has apparently thought that he could find happiness in a marriage to which Andromaque had consented only because of his threats and bribes. Suddenly he reveals his recognition of his wretched plight:

*Je vous reçus en reine et jusques à ce jour
J'ai cru que mes serments me tiendroient lieu d'amour.
Mais cet amour l'emporte, et par un coup funeste
Andromaque m'arrache un cœur qu'elle déteste.*
(verses 1295-1298)

Philips translates:

*I sent Ambassadors to call you hither;
Receiv'd you as my Queen; and hoped my Oaths,
So oft renew'd, might ripen into Love.
The Gods can witness, Madam, how I fought
Against Andromache's too fatal Charms!
And still I wish I had the Power to leave
This Trojan Beauty and be just to you.*
(page 40)

Philips' four lines, "The Gods can witness," etc., are in the one word "arrache." Pyrrhus' bewildered agony, expressed in the hemistich "un cœur qu'elle déteste," is entirely lost in Philips' translation.

Philips has little taste for interrogation, perhaps Racine's favorite figure of speech.¹⁰ Interrogation in Racine is often a vehicle for irony. Whether through distaste for interrogation or for irony itself, Philips either eliminates irony from his translation or makes it heavy and awkward. This tendency is strikingly illustrated in Philips' translation of the famous tirade which the French call the "couplet d'ironie." Here, in the original, the irony becomes most biting in the verses:

*Est-il juste, après tout, qu'un conquérant s'abaisse
Sous la servile loi de garder sa promesse?*
(verses 1313-1314)

Philips paraphrases these lines:

*A Hero should be bold; above all Laws:
Be bravely false; and laugh at solemn Ties.
To be perfidious shews a daring Mind:
And you have nobly triumphed o'er a Maid!*
(page 41)¹¹

10. "On peut dire de l'interrogation qu'elle est sa figure favorite. Toute interrogation sans doute n'est pas une figure. Mais elle en devient une, ou en prend un faux air quand c'est la passion qui questionne. . . . Dans tous les cas, que l'interrogation soit stratégie . . . ou pure expression de curiosité . . . , ou explosion de la fureur, elle est, comme disaient les anciens, un geste du discours, dont elle accroît la force; ajoutons qu'elle est le geste le mieux approprié à ce drame de violence et de tragique incertitude." G. Le Bidois, *La Vie dans la tragédie de Racine*, Paris, 1929, pp. 317-318.

11. Instances of the elimination of irony, whether expressed in interrogation or not, occur frequently. For instance:

Philips, unlike Racine, is inordinately fond of exclamation. Exclamations often play variations on a theme in Racine with a loss of psychological precision. For instance, Racine's Hermione, abandoned by Pyrrhus, turns to Oreste. Hoping to win back his love, which she thinks she may have lost, she says:

*Enfin qui vous a dit que, malgré mon devoir,
Je n'ai pas quelquefois souhaité de vous voir?*

The melancholy, paranoid Oreste, for an instant, but for an instant only, is beside himself with joy. But he is immediately skeptical again:

*Souhaité de me voir! Ah! divine princesse. . . .
Mais, de grâce, est-ce à moi que ce discours s'adresse?
Ouvrez vos yeux: songez qu'Oreste est devant vous,
Oreste, si longtemps l'objet de leur courroux.*

(verses 527-532)

Philips translates:

*Wished to see Orestes!
Oh Joy! Oh Ecstasy! My Soul's entranc'd!
Oh charming Princess!— Oh transcendent Maid!
My utmost Wish!—Thus, thus let me express
My boundless Thanks!—I never was unhappy.—
Am I Orestes?*

(page 18)

Racine's Oreste cannot forget for long that he is persecuted by an unjust destiny. Much of this is lost in the rant of Philips' translation. For, despite his avowed purpose of imitating Racine's simple and natural style, Philips cannot resist bombast and hyperbole; and apparently he is insensitive to the complex emotions that electrify Racine's simple words. A striking example of the difference in style and the loss of psychological subtlety occurs in the scene between Pylades and Orestes, when Orestes resolves to abduct Hermione:

Pylade: *Au lieu de l'enlever, fuyez-la pour jamais.
Quoi? Votre amour se veut charger d'une furie
Qui vous détestera, qui toute votre vie,*

Andromaque: *Et quelle est cette peur dont leur cœur est frappé,
Seigneur? Quelque Troyen vous est-il échappé?*

(vers. 267-268)

Andromache: *Alas! What Threats? What can alarm the Greeks?
There are no Trojans left.*

(p. 10) [Italics mine]

Phœnix: *Allez, Seigneur, vous jeter à ses pieds.
Allez, en lui jurant que votre âme l'adore,
A de nouveaux mépris l'encourager encore.*

(vers. 680-682)

Phœnix: *O, go not, sir!—There's Ruin in her Eyes!
You do not know your Strength: You'll fall before her,
Adore her Beauty, and revive her Scorn.*

(p. 22)

*Regrettant un hymen tout prêt à s'achever,
Voudra . . .*

- Oreste: *C'est pour cela que je veux l'enlever.
Tout lui rirot, Pylade; et moi, pour mon partage,
Je n'emporterois donc qu'une inutile rage?
J'irois loin d'elle encor tâcher de l'oublier?
Non, non, à mes tourments je veux l'associer.
C'est trop gémir tout seul. Je suis las qu'on me plaigne:
Je prétends qu'à mon tour l'inhumaine me craigne,
Et que ses yeux cruels, à pleurer condamnés,
Me rendent tous les noms que je leur ai donnés.*
(verses 752-764)

- Pylades: *Think not to force her hence;
But fly from her destructive Charms.
Her Soul is linked to Pyrrhus: Were she yours,
She would reproach you still, and still regret
Her disappointed Nuptials.—*

- Orestes: *Talk no more!
I cannot hear the Thought! She must be mine!
Did Pyrrhus carry Thunder in his Hand,
I'd stand the Bolt, and challenge all his Fury,
Ere I resigned Hermione.—By Force
I'll snatch her hence, and bear her to my Ships!
Have we forgot her Mother Helen's Rape?*
(page 25)¹³

Orestes' rôle is one epileptic outburst after another and there is little left of Racine's "homme fatal." But the bombast is not due to Philips' different conception of this character. Instances of gratuitous inflation occur in other rôles.¹³

12. From this scene Philips omits altogether Oreste's characteristic lines:

*Mon innocence enfin commence à me peser.
Je ne sais de tout temps quelle injuste puissance
Laisse le crime en paix et poursuit l'innocence.
De quelque part sur moi que je tourne les yeux,
Je ne vois que malheurs qui condamnent les Dieux.
Méritons leur courroux, justifions leur haine,
Et que le fruit du crime en précède la peine.*

(vss. 772-778)

13. Pyrrhus: *Et le puis-je, Madame? Ah! que vous me gênez!
Comment lui rendre un cœur que vous me retenez?*

(vss. 343-344)

- Pyrrhus: *Why do you mock me thus? You know I cannot.
You know my Heart is yours; My Soul hangs on you:
You take up every Wish: My waking Thoughts,
And nightly Dreams are all employ'd on you.*

(p. 12)

Andromaque: *Chère épouse, dit-il en essuyant mes larmes.*

(vs. 1021)

Andromache: *My Wife, my dear Andromache, said he,*

In the scenes mentioned above and in others where Racine is followed most closely, Philips' method is first to simplify the emotion of Racine's character, to reduce it to the elemental, then to inflate the language in which the now elemental emotion is expressed. Although the adaptation is close enough to Racine to preserve some of the drama of the original, there is a tendency to transform what Lanson calls "*des vibrations dramatiques*" into "*des effusions lyriques*." In the scenes which Philips adds, there is a complete reversion to traditional English style; and all the added scenes are apparently intended to perform one function in the structure of the play: they make Andromache much more the central figure of the play than she had been in Racine's tragedy.

Philips' most radical changes occur at the end of each act. In the first three acts he merely adds a moralizing tirade. To Acts IV and V he adds fairly long scenes with the spotlight on Andromache. In Racine's tragedy Andromache speaks the final lines of one act only. In Philips' play she has the curtain speech of all except one act. These curtain speeches of Philips' play give him a chance to indulge his taste for static poetry and to introduce simile, from which he had the fortitude to abstain in the scenes where he followed Racine. But, what is most significant, these added scenes betray an insensitiveness to Racine's dramatic effects and an incomprehension of his psychological action. For instance, at the end of Act II, Pyrrhus, incensed at Andromache's indifference to him, has resolved to give Astyanax up to the Greeks and to marry Hermione. Scene 5, in Racine and in Philips, is a conversation between Pyrrhus and Phoenix in which the former boasts of his triumph over himself and unconsciously reveals that he is still obsessed with the thought of Andromache. Phoenix knows how unstable his decision is likely to be and urges him to act at once, to give up Astyanax and to see Hermione. In Racine, Pyrrhus realizes that Phoenix is right and that he must act quickly before he weakens. He interrupts Phoenix to say:

Faisons tout ce que j'ai promis.

(verse 708)

This is the end of the act. Philips follows Racine up to this point. But his Pyrrhus remains on the stage to describe his emancipation as though it were indeed an emancipation:

*'Tis with a secret Pleasure I look back
And see the many Dangers I have pass'd.
The Merchant thus, in dreadful Tempests lost,*

(Heaving with stifled Sighs to see me weep).

(p. 33)

Hermione: Vous ne répondez point?

(vs. 1375)

Hermione: See, if the barbarous Prince vouchsafes an Answer.

(p. 42)

*Thrown by the Waves on some unlook'd for Coast,
Oft turns, and sees, with a delighted Eye,
'Midst Rocks and Shelves the broken Billows fly!
And while the outrageous Winds the Deep deform,
Smiles on the Tumult and enjoys the Storm.*

(page 23)¹⁴

Racine ends his acts with short, sharp, portentous speeches. In Philips' play foreshadowing and suspense are gone; Racine's psychological drama remains just beyond his imitator's comprehension and Racine's lesson in simplicity of style cannot banish altogether from an English play descriptive passages in figurative style.

In Act IV Philips makes more extensive changes and additions. Pyrrhus has told Hermione of his plan to marry Andromaque. Hermione exits with the threatening words:

*Porte aux pieds des autels ce cœur qui m'abandonne;
Va, cours. Mais crains encore d'y trouver Hermione.*

(verses 1385-1386)

Phoenix, alarmed, warns Pyrrhus of his danger. But Pyrrhus will not listen:

Andromaque m'attend. Phœnix, garde son fils.

(verse 1392)

Here Act IV of Racine's play ends. Philips adds a scene between Andromache and Cephisa. Some of this scene is taken from Act IV, scene 1 of *Andromaque*,¹⁵ but much is Philips' own. Andromache appears in her royal bridal robes and blazing with jewels. She reveals to Cephisa her plan to kill herself after the ceremony. A certain nostalgia for ghosts and the macabre is evident in her lines:

*Thou may'st remember, for thou oft hast heard me
Relate the dreadful Vision, which I saw
When first I landed Captive in Epirus.
That very Night, as in a Dream I lay,
A ghastly Figure, full of gaping Wounds,
His Eyes a-glare, his Hair all stiff with Blood,
Full in my Sight thrice shook his Head and groaned.
I soon discern'd my slaughter'd Hector's Shade;
But, oh, how chang'd! Ye Gods, how much unlike*

14. Despite his condemnation of traditional English style in tragedy, Addison seems to have approved of ending an act with such a lyric piece. Speaking of the use of rhyme, he says: "I would not, however, debar the poet from concluding his tragedy, or, if he pleases, every act of it, with two or three couplets, which may have the same effect as an air in the Italian opera after a long recitativo, and give the actor a graceful exit." (*Spectator*, No. 39.)

15. This is the last scene in which Andromaque appears in all the editions of Racine's tragedy except those of 1668 and 1673. See below, p. 14.

*The living Hector!—Loud he bid me fly!
Fly from Achilles' Son! Then sternly frowned
And disappeared.* (pages 44-45)¹⁶

The final tirade of this act brings in the characteristic simile:

Andromache: *No more! Thy Tears, Cephisa, will betray me.
Assume a cheerful Look: But still remember—
(Flourish within).
Hark, how the Trumpet, with its sprightly Notes,
Proclaims the appointed Hour and calls us hence!
Hector, I come, once more a Queen, to join thee!
Thus the gay Victim, with fresh Garlands crown'd,
Pleased with the sacred Fife's enlivening Sound,
Through gazing Crowds, in solemn State, proceeds
And drest in fatal Pomp, magnificently bleeds.*
(page 47)

In Act V Philips brings Andromache back for the final curtain. She appears after the delirium of Orestes and after the Greeks have fled. She hurls imprecations at the departed Greeks. Then, when the corpse of Pyrrhus is borne along by his soldiers, off-stage presumably, she says:

*Ill fated Prince! Too negligent of Life!
And too unwary of the faithless Greeks!
Cut off in the fresh ripening Prime of Manhood,
Even in the Pride of Life; thy Triumphs new
And all thy Glories in full Blossom round thee!
The very Trojans would bewail thy Fate.*

Cephisa says:

Alas! then will your Sorrows never end!

Andromache answers:

*Oh! never—While I live, my Tears
Will never cease; for I was born to grieve.*
(page 56)

Although the words are not the same, it is difficult to believe that Andromache's grief for Pyrrhus was not suggested by a scene in the 1668 and 1673 texts of *Andromaque*, a scene which was suppressed in later editions.¹⁷ Racine's *Andromaque* is brought in as Oreste's captive. She expresses her grief for Pyrrhus thus:

16. Senecan influence probably accounts for these lines. In the *Troades* Andromache has a vision of Hector who appears to her in her sleep to bid her hide Astyanax when the Greeks are plotting to kill him. Seneca's apparition also is unlike the living Hector. His hair is matted (but not stiff with blood). He shakes his head (but not three times). Loeb edition, I, 161.

17. See Mesnard edition of Racine, II, 119, notes 1 and 2.

*Je ne m'attendois pas que le ciel en colère
 Pût, sans perdre mon fils, accrottre ma misère,
 Et gardât à mes yeux quelque spectacle encor
 Qui fût couler mes pleurs pour un autre qu' Hector.*

The first two speeches of Philips' heroine are apparently suggested by this scene in the early version of Racine's tragedy. The third speech of Andromache is suggested by a *récit* which occurs in Racine's play after Hermione has berated Oreste for Pyrrhus' death and has left the stage (together with Andromaque in the earlier version). Pylade reports:

*Andromaque elle-même, à Pyrrhus si rebelle,
 Lui rend tous les devoirs d'une veuve fidèle . . .*
 (verses 1589-1590)

Philips indulges his taste for descriptive poetry in the following lines which Andromache herself speaks:

*Give present Orders for the Funeral Poms:
 Let him be robed in all his Regal State;
 Place round him every shining mark of Honour;
 And let the Pile, that Consecrates his Ashes,
 Rise like his Fame, and blaze above the Clouds.*
 (page 56)

At this point Philips faces the problem of finding a happy ending if he can. A trumpet sounds off-stage. Cephisa says:

*That Sound proclaims the Arrival of the Prince:
 The Guards conduct him from the Citadel.*
 (page 57)

Andromache forgets all about Pyrrhus and indulges in an effusion of mother-love and optimistic moralizing:

*With open Arms I'll meet him!—Oh, Cephisa!
 A springing Joy, mixt with a soft Concern,
 A Pleasure, which no Language can Express,
 An Extasie, that Mothers only feel,
 Plays round my Heart, and brightens up my Sorrow,
 Like Gleams of Sun-shine in a lowering Skie.
 Though plunged in Ills, and exercised in Care,
 Yet never let the noble Mind despair.
 When prest by Dangers, and beset with Foes,
 The Gods their timely Succour interpose;
 And when our Vertue sinks, o'erwhelmed with Grief,
 By unforeseen Expedients bring Relief.*
 (page 57)¹⁸

18. Having seen a performance of *Andromaque* designed to have a popular appeal, Emile Faguet pointed out that *mise en scène* and orchestral flourishes had pushed Racine's tragedy in the direction of melodrama. Then he facetiously suggested "une indiscretion

If Racine was as well known and as much admired among British men of letters as Philips affirms that he was (see above, page 3), one might expect to find one voice raised in protest against the bad taste of Philips' emendations; or, failing that, at least a critique noting the differences. There was one violent attack against the play but the author was far from being a champion of Racine. He explains his motives thus:

Neither Pique nor Malice drew my Pen on this Subject; but an honest and hearty Warmth for the Honour of our British Poetry in Discouragement of all French Importations of this kind, unless better refined and cleared from their original Dross and Rubbish.¹⁹

In his prologue, without mentioning Racine's name, Steele indicates that Philips' play is an imitation of a very successful French tragedy and that Philips has been concerned chiefly with writing a "regular" tragedy, *because* he recognizes his own "feeble force."

*Our Author does his feeble Force confess,

 Your Treat with study'd Decency he serves:
 Not only Rules of Time and Place preserves,
 But strives to keep his Characters intire,
 With French Correctness and with British Fire.*

In his very enthusiastic review of the play, which he had heard read before the stage performance, Steele reveals the fact that Philips' tragedy appealed to him chiefly as a drama of sensibility:

We have seldom had any female distress on the stage which did not, upon cool imagination, appear to flow from the weakness rather than the misfortune of the person represented; . . . the character which gives name to the play, is one who has behaved herself with heroic virtue in the most important circumstances of a female life, those of a wife, a widow, and a mother. . . . Domestic virtues concern all the world, and there is no one who is not interested that Andromache should be an imitable character.²⁰

Although one is hardly justified in taking Sir Roger de Coverly's comments as serious dramatic criticism, it is apparent that Addison was interested in Philips' play as illustrating two features of classicism that preoccupied him at the moment, simplicity of style and the banishment of

de plus": "D'autant que le trône est resté au fond de la scène, faites, après les 'fureurs d'Oreste', reparaitre Andromaque, venant du fond par la gauche, la couronne en tête, accompagnée d'un peuple sympathique. Et qu'elle monte sur le trône et que Céphise par la droite lui apporte son enfant et qu'Andromaque le prenne sur ses genoux et l'embrasse, avec sensibilité. La toile tombe. A vous, Diderot! Je suis sûr que vous auriez approuvé ce petit supplément au dénouement." Philips had anticipated Faguet by nearly two hundred years. *Propos de théâtre*, II^e série, p. 73.

19. *A Modest Survey of that Celebrated Tragedy, "The Distrest Mother,"* London, 1712 (anonymous), Postscript.

20. *Spectator*, No. 290.

scenes of bloodshed from the stage. There is no evidence of any interest in Racine.²¹

In *St. James's Journal* (April 20, 1723) a critic who signs himself "Dorimant" gives us the reasons why English tragedy is superior to foreign tragedy, especially the French:

The English, in this Species of Writing, undoubtedly excel all their Neighbors; they have a Force of Thought, as well as of Style and Expression, which is no more to be described, than imitated: The latter indeed is in a good measure owing to the Strength and Manliness of our Language, but the Former is born with us; the true Poetick Spirit, that noble Enthusiasm, which distinguishes the Works of our Countrymen from the jejune and insipid, tho' possibly more correct Compositions of Foreigners. And therefore there are few Translations of ours, from the French especially, which do not exceed the originals: We give them Life and Spirit; the want of which makes them languish and tasteless in the Reading, in spite of all the Care and Correctness in their Composition. I shall produce only two instances: The first is the *Distres'd Mother* of Mr. Philips, and the other the new Tragedy, called the *Fatal Legacy* . . .²²

By far the most detailed and in a sense the most judicious criticism of *The Distrest Mother* comes from the pen of the novelist, Samuel Richardson. It occurs in the second part of *Pamela*. Richardson's heroine, now in her exalted condition as the wife of her would-be seducer, writes from London to give her sister-in-law her impressions of London entertainment. As an example of the kind of tragedy which Londoners enjoy, she chooses *The Distrest Mother*.²³

English classicists such as Addison and Philips himself may be said to have approved of Racine without appreciating him. Richardson, on the other hand, appreciated Racine without approving of him. He does not profess to be familiar with the original of *The Distrest Mother* and he supposes that the play is a faithful translation from the French. Pamela says:

The play I first saw was the tragedy of *The Distressed Mother* and a great many beautiful things I think there are in it: But half of it is a tempestuous, cruel, ungoverned rant of passion, and ends in cruelty, bloodshed, and desolation, which the truth of the story not warranting, as Mr. B — tells me, makes it the more pity that the original author (for it is a French play translated, you know, madam) had not conducted it, since it was in his choice, with less terror, and greater propriety to the passions intended to be raised, and actually raised in many places.

All his criticism then is directed at Racine. While Addison and Steele had chosen for favorable comment certain features of Philips' tragedy that were

21. See Canfield, *op. cit.*, pp. 152-154.

22. A translation of Racine's *La Thébaïde*.

23. *Pamela*, Vol. IV, Letter LIII. I quote from the 1902 edition (London, William Heinemann) of Richardson's novels.

not characteristically Racinian, a great deal of Richardson's criticism bears on tragic love as Racine portrayed it. He objects to all the characters because they are not exemplary (except, of course, Andromache). He disapproves of tragic love in general:

But give me leave to say, that I think there is hardly one play I have seen or read hitherto, but has too much of love in it, as that passion is generally treated. How unnatural in some, how inflaming in others, are the descriptions of it!—In most rather rant and fury, like the loves of the fiercer brute animals, as Virgil, translated by Dryden, describes them, than the soft, sighing, fearfully hopeful murmurs, that swell the bosoms of our gentler sex; and the respectful, timorous, submissive complainings of the other, when the truth of the passion humanises, as one may say, their more rugged hearts.

In particular, he condemns, from a moral point of view, the characters of Pyrrhus and Hermione:

Then, madam, the love of Hermione for Pyrrhus is not, I think, of that delicate sort which ought to be set before our sex for an example.—'Tis rage, not love. . . . In short, madam, I think none of the love in this piece is such a love, however suited to Hermione's character and circumstances, as is fit to be recommended to our example: 'Tis a love that shocks one, and is rather rage and tumult than love, and succeeds accordingly. So that of Pyrrhus is ungoverned, wild, unjust, ungenerous caprice. Hermione's is founded in confessed ingratitude to Orestes, and she perseveres in it to Pyrrhus, when the indignities put upon her should have made her sooner wish for death than for so perjured a man . . .

After making it plain that he disapproves of the kind of love portrayed Richardson proceeds to commend the portrayal for naturalness. He chooses as illustrations of admirable psychological realism scenes which are characteristic of Racine and which Philips has not tampered with. Pamela continues:

The storms, and doubts, and uncertainty of wild ungoverned love are very naturally, I humbly think, painted in several scenes of this play, in the characters of Hermione and Pyrrhus; and nowhere more affectingly than in the upbraidings of Hermione to Orestes, after she had found her bloody purpose too well complied with . . . The staggering doubts and distress of Hermione, after she had engaged Orestes in the murder of Pyrrhus, between her love and her resentment; her questions to her woman, whether, as he approached the temple to marry her rival, in breach of his vows of betrothment to her, his countenance showed not some tokens of remorse; are very natural to one in her amorous circumstances, I fancy:

*"But, say, Cleone, didst thou mark him well?
Was his brow smooth? Say, did there not appear
Some shade of grief? Some little cloud of sorrow?
Did he not stop? Did he not once look back?"*

*Didst thou approach him? Was he not confounded?
Did he not— Oh! be quick and tell me all."*

This, madam, I think is charmingly natural. And, on Cleone's answer that he went to the temple all joy and transport, unguarded, and all his cares employed to gratify Andromache in her son's safety, it is the less to be wondered at that she should be quite exasperated, and forgetting all her love for the ungrateful prince, should say:

"Enough! He dies!—the traitor!—Where's Orestes?"

The character of Andromache has Richardson's approval with somewhat less, I suspect, of his admiration, *i.e.*, his esthetic admiration. He singles out for comment, not Philips' touches to "heighten the distress" but scenes in which he has followed Racine.²⁴

Richardson's most severe criticism of an esthetic order, though apparently aimed at Racine, falls upon Philips. He is shocked at the incongruity of the superadded moralizing ending. Pamela quotes the rhyming sextet that closes Philips' play (see above, pages 14-15) and continues:

Now, madam, good as this moral is, I should rather, in generosity, have had it recommended from any mouth than that of Andromache: For what is the consolation she receives? What are the expedients she so much rejoices in? Why, in the first place, the murder of a prince who loved her more than his own glory, and to whom she had just given her faith, as a second husband, though forced to it from a laudable motive; and next the self-murder of Hermione, the distraction of Orestes, and the prospect of succeeding with her son to the throne of the murdered prince. . . .

Richardson criticizes severely the account of Hermione's death in the *Distress Mother*. His criticism is of course directed at Racine but strikes only Philips. He says:

There are several circumstances of horror in this play, that made me shudder; but I think none like the description the poet puts into the mouth of Pylades, the inseparable friend of Orestes, who far from avoiding to shock the soul of his friend, by gently insinuating the fate of that Hermione, on whom he had fixed his happiness, thus terribly, with all the aggravations that could attend such a tragedy, points out the horrid action; taking care even to make her as impious in her reproaches of the Deity for her own rashness, as she was in the violence by which she dies; and so leaving a dreadful example (which I presume was not needful to be left) of final impenitence, especially in a suffering character, that had not merited the evils she met with.

Thus it is described; and I am affected with the transcription of a passage which the poet has laboured more than he ought, I think, to show the force of his descriptive vein:

*"Full of disorder, wildness in her looks,
With hands expanded, and dishevelled hair,*

24. Andromache's pleas to Hermione for her son and her instructions to Cephisa for the rearing of her son after her death, and her description of her parting with Hector.

Breathless and pale, with shrieks, she sought the temple.

*In the midway, she met the corpse of Pyrrhus:
She started at the sight! then, stiff with horror,
Gazed frightful! Wakened from the dire amaze,
She raised her eyes to heaven with such a look
As spoke her sorrows, and reproached the gods!
Then plunged a poniard deep within her breast,
And fell on Pyrrhus, grasping him in death!"*

The blasphemy and the gratuitous rhetoric are Philips' not Racine's.²⁵

After Richardson the only criticism of *The Distrest Mother*, in addition to that found in histories of the English stage and cited by Dorothea Canfield,²⁶ is to be found in various editions of Philips' plays and poetry. All this criticism falls into the English clichés of criticism of French classical tragedy. The burden of it is that, since Philips had the bad taste to imitate Racine, his plays has the defects of its model; it is cold, declamatory, rhetorical. Two comments from introductions to editions of Philips' works are worthy of note. In a 1781 edition of the *Poetical Works of Ambrose Philips*²⁷ Philips is given credit for whatever merit the play possesses:

The first piece he brought upon the stage was his *Distrest Mother*, translated from the *Andromaque* of Racine, but not without such deviations as Mr. Philips thought necessary to heighten the distress; for writing to the heart is a secret which the best of the French poets have not found out.

An early nineteenth-century edition²⁸ is noteworthy as indicating a shift of emphasis in the interpretation of the play. As Dorothea Canfield has shown,²⁹ the rôle of Andromache was the one most favored by the great actresses of the eighteenth century³⁰ and apparently the rôle in which the public was most interested. By 1819 the interest seems to have shifted to

25.

En rentrant dans ces lieux, nous l'avons rencontrée
Qui couroit vers le temple, inquiète, égarée,
Elle a trouvé Pyrrhus porté sur des soldats
Que son sang excitoit à venger son trépas.
Sans doute à cet objet sa rage s'est émue.
Mais du haut de la porte enfin nous l'avons vue,
Un poignard à la main, sur Pyrrhus se courber,
Lever les yeux au ciel, se frapper et tomber.

(verses 1605-1612)

Mesnard, in his *Notice*, makes the following comment on Richardson's criticism: " . . . il est à regretter qu'il n'ait pas suffisamment distingué l'un de l'autre, et qu'en quelques endroits il ait paru croire avoir affaire à Racine, tandis qu'il n'eût dû s'en prendre qu'à son copiste peu fidèle." (II, 30-31.)

26. *Op. cit.*, pp. 144-145, 150.

27. Edinburg, Apollo Press, p. xvii.

28. *The Distrest Mother. Oxberry's Drama*. London, 1819, Vol. V.

29. *Op. cit.*, pp. 146-149.

30. Compare the situation in France where Hermione was the favorite of the great artists. See Mesnard edition, II, 22.

the rôle of Orestes. The author of the prefatory remarks of the Oxberry edition, after the usual disparaging comment on French declamation, says:

The *Distrest Mother*, as a dramatic narrative, is intitled to applause, and the frenzy of its principal character has some temptations for expressive powers which must secure it an occasional performance.

The frontispiece is an engraving of Macready as Orestes. This shift of interest does not indicate, however, a greater appreciation of Racine. To be sure, the "fureurs d'Oreste" have had great interpreters in France, beginning with Montfleury, who created the rôle. But it must be remembered that Philips prolonged the delirium of Orestes. There is little trace of Racine left in this last scene of Orestes, as the following sample will show:

Who talks of Reason?—Better to have none,
Than not enough.—Run, some one, tell my Greeks,
I will not have them touch the King. —Now!—Now!
I blaze again!—See there!—Look where they come!
A shoal of Furies!—How they swarm about me!
My Terror!—Hide me!—How they grin,
And shake their iron Whips!—My Ears! What yelling!
And see Hermione!—She sets them on!—
Thrust not your Scorpions thus into my Bosom!
Oh!—I am stung to Death!—Dispatch me soon!
There:—Take my Heart, Hermione!—Tear it out!
Disjoyn't me!—Kill me!—Oh, my tortured Soul.—
(page 55)

Admirers of the frenzy of Orestes are admirers of Philips, not of Racine.³¹

All things considered, the great success of *The Distrest Mother* both with the critics and with the public does not indicate that the English understood or appreciated Racine during the eighteenth century. Philips failed dismally in his attempt to imitate Racine's style and he failed not because he was an inferior poet but because he could not understand psychological drama and because he was unable to resist the momentum of traditional English poetic style. Moreover the pressure of the growing taste for *drame bourgeois* led him to pad the rôle of Andromache with serious distortion of Racine's psychological tragedy. The rôle of Orestes suffered from his incomprehension of psychological realism and his taste for bombastic static poetry. Yet these two rôles most impressed the public. As for the critics, Richardson is the only one who reveals any degree of comprehension of the essence

31. *The Distrest Mother* was produced in the American colonies in the middle of the eighteenth century, and is thought to have influenced the first American play performed by a professional company in the Colonies, Thomas Godfrey's *The Prince of Parthia*. Apparently the lines of this play which echo *The Distrest Mother* are all from the delirium of Orestes and are Philips' lines, not Racine's. See L. P. Waldo, *The French Drama in America*, Baltimore, 1942, pp. 91-95. (I am indebted for this reference to one of my graduate students, Mr. Robert Hartle.)

of Racine and he does not profess to know Racine. If Racine was well known and appreciated by the men of letters of the age, as Philips affirms that he was, these connoisseurs of Racine must have refrained from recording their opinions in connection with Philips' adaptation.

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VIGNY AND THE DOCTRINE DE SAINT-SIMON

VIGNY'S INTEREST in Saint-Simonism is familiar ground.¹ An entry in the *Journal d'un poète*, dated December 1829, refers specifically to the historic exposition of the doctrine then going on at 12 rue Taranne, reports of which were appearing regularly in the journal *L'Organisateur*.² From the presses of the same paper, in August 1830, under the awkward title *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première Année 1829*, came the actual text, which, as I propose to show, the poet read with attentiveness and sympathy. It was followed the same year by a second volume.³

The *Doctrine*, as we shall call it for the sake of brevity, reproduces a series of public lectures held in 1828-1830 by a group of young engineers, doctors, bankers and stockbrokers inspired by the wayward and prophetic utterances of Claude-Henri de Rouvroy, comte de Saint-Simon, concerning the need of "reorganizing" institutions after the decline of feudalism.⁴ They felt, as did the Romantic poets with whom they had much in common, that they stood at the dawn of a great new age.⁵ And it was with a passionate romanticism that they believed in the capacity of social science, Saint-Simon's gift to posterity, to lead the way to the construction of a *new social order*.⁶

Nous marchons vers un monde où la religion et la philosophie, le culte et les beaux-arts, le dogme et la science, ne seront plus divisés; où le devoir et l'intérêt, la théorie et la pratique, loin d'être en guerre, conduiront à un même but, l'élévation morale de l'homme; enfin où la science et l'industrie nous feront chaque jour mieux connaître et mieux cultiver le monde: alors la raison et la force, unies comme deux sœurs, feront remonter vers la source où elles puisent la vie, vers l'AMOUR, une commune action de grâces, un hymne de reconnaissance, et recevront de lui l'INSPIRATION, le souffle CREATEUR sans lequel elles resteraient dans le néant.⁷

The main principles of social romanticism are competently summarized

1. See my article on "Alfred de Vigny and Positivism," *RR*, December 1944.

2. "Je m'occupe de la Doctrine de Saint-Simon." *Journal d'un poète*, Scholartis Press, p. 77.

3. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Première année 1829*, Paris, Bureau de l'Organisateur, 1830, 431 pp. *Doctrine de Saint-Simon. Exposition. Seconde année 1829-1830*, Paris, Bureau de l'Organisateur et du Globe, 1830, 172 pp.—The text of the first volume is accessible to the general reader in the critical edition by Bouglé and Halévy (Paris, Marcel Rivière, 1924). All references are to this edition.

4. Saint-Simon's *De la réorganisation de la société européenne* (Paris, Delaunay, 1814) was republished by Alfred Pereire in 1925 to mark the centenary of his death (Presses Françaises, xlvii-100 pp.).

5. "Un siècle où apparaît une lumière nouvelle." *Doctrine, première année*, p. 74.

6. "La construction d'un NOUVEL ORDRE SOCIAL." *Op.cit.*, p.151. (Italics and capitals of the original.)

7. *Op. cit.*, p. 200.

by Vigny in the poem *Paris*, written in January 1831, clearly after reading the *Doctrine*:

*C'est un Temple, un Temple immense, universel,
Où l'homme n'offrira ni l'encens, ni le sel,
Ni le sang, ni le pain, ni le vin, ni l'hostie,
Mais son temps et sa vie en œuvre convertie,
Mais son amour de tous, son abnégation
De lui, de l'héritage et de la nation;
Seul, sans père et sans fils, soumis à la parole,
L'union est son but et le travail son rôle,
Et, selon celui-là qui parle après Jésus,
Tous seront appelés et tous seront élus.⁸*

The Saint-Simonian program of 1830 was in fact as follows:

1. The creation of a World Association;⁹
2. The organization of industry for peaceful production;
3. The production and distribution of wealth in accordance with the

principle *A chacun selon sa capacité, à chaque capacité selon ses œuvres*,¹⁰ by which was meant each doing the work for which he is best qualified, and being rewarded according to service. It was the *Doctrine* of 1830 which introduced the notion of property not as an individual right but as the trusteeship of "instruments of production," and of that trusteeship as a *fonction sociale*.¹¹ As a first step the right of inheritance was to be abolished and a State Bank was to be made the common pool of the "instruments of production." In return, on the State would devolve the duty of controlling production¹² and of instituting a new social order founded not on birth and fortune but on *capacity*.

The young "organizers" who elaborated Saint-Simon's ideas after his death lived in the age of Romanticism; and it is a reflection of the spirit of their times that rational doctrines seemed to them to have need of a "religious sanction." They did not admit that the fuller and more abundant life could be purchased at the cost of a number of technical arrangements. Nothing short of total regeneration could, in their view, suffice. They saw in Christian asceticism an irreconcilable disharmony with the purpose of modern society to win unlimited control over man's physical environment,

8. *Poèmes*, Conard ed., p. 165. Cf. "*TOUS seront appelés, et TOUS seront élus.*" *Doctrine*, première année, p. 178.

9. "ASSOCIATION UNIVERSELLE." *Op. cit.*, p. 203 et *passim*.—This word is the open-sesame of the *Doctrine* of 1830 and in general of the socialism of the Romantic period. The Saint-Simonians usually contrast *association* with *antagonisme*, occasionally with *isolement*. The word *socialisme* appears in 1834, referring to the Saint-Simonian doctrine. D. O. Evans, *Le Socialisme romantique: P. Leroux et ses contemporains*, Paris, Marcel Rivière, Bibliothèque d'Histoire Economique et Sociale, 1947.

10. *Doctrine*, première année, p. 117. The difference between this formula and Saint-Simon's *De chacun selon ses moyens à chacun selon son besoin* is notable.

11. *Op. cit.*, p. 257.

12. "Diriger la production, la mettre en harmonie avec la consommation." *Op. cit.*, p. 261.

and they presented their *new social order* as a "religion," of which they themselves were the "disciples" and of which Saint-Simon was the "Messiah." But for the dogma with which they surrounded the rehabilitation of the Flesh, Renan, who felt sympathetic to Saint-Simonism in other respects, thought that the doctrine might have become "la philosophie originale de la France au XIX^e siècle."¹³ Be that as it may, its influence has been considerable: though Marx called the Saint-Simonians "half prophets and half crooks," the fact is that he owed much to them.¹⁴ The socialization of the instruments of production; the expropriation of landed property; the abolition of the right of inheritance ("un vestige féodal," says Bazard, "la propriété par droit de naissance et non par droit de capacité"¹⁵); the centralization of credit in the hands of the State by the establishment of a State Bank with an exclusive monopoly:—these demands were all made by the Saint-Simonians eighteen years before they appeared in the *Communist Manifesto*. By his conception of the class struggle, of the "exploitation of man by man,"¹⁶ and by his interpretation of the process of emergence of governing classes, Marx continually reminds us of the *Doctrine* of 1830. Like the Saint-Simonians he looked forward to a future society in which class "antagonisms" shall have given way to the great principle of *association*.¹⁷ He differed from them in his insistence that its realization could not come till the class war had reached its inevitable consummation in a series of world-shaking disasters. He rejected the Saint-Simonian and Comtist assumption that an intellectual elite could convince the governing classes against their own interests, and believed in the necessity of the "violent overthrow of the whole contemporary social order" by the organized proletariat. The Saint-Simonian philosophy of history was evolutionist rather than revolutionary.¹⁸ Based on the dynamism of Progress, it recognized in human experience *organic* and *critical* stages, the organic periods being those (such as the Middle Ages) at which social institutions and in general all forms of human activity answer some well understood and universally accepted social purpose, and the critical periods those during which the absence of such a sense of purpose breaks down the bonds of fellow-feeling

13. *L'Avenir de la Science*, Calmann Lévy, p. 104. Renan was aware of the inevitable trend to mysticism of all doctrines, social and philosophical; and his own work instances it well.

14. This has been demonstrated in detail by Charles Andler in his *Le Manifeste communiste de Karl Marx et F. Engels, introduction historique et commentaire*, Rieder, 1922.

15. *Doctrine, seconde année*, p. 159.

16. "L'exploitation de l'homme par l'homme," a neologism introduced by the disciples of Saint-Simon, first appears in the *Doctrine, première année*, p. 74 *et passim*; the *Producteur* (1825-1826) speaks only, as does Saint-Simon himself, of the "exploitation du globe terrestre." An English writer of 1858 finds it necessary to explain the meaning by reference to the French (William Lucas Sargant, *Social Innovators and Their Schemes*, London, Smith Elder, pp. 42-43; chapter on Saint-Simon).

17. *Manifesto*, § 54.

18. "C'est une *évolution* qu'elle vient prédire et accomplir."—*Doctrine, première année*, p. 279.

and mutual understanding and leads (as in modern times) to the conflict of selfish interests, the cutthroat competition and virtual civil war which then pass for civilization.¹⁹ The *Doctrine* opens with a picture of contemporary society split into two warring camps: reaction and revolution; and of its institutions in ruins because they have ceased to be in harmony with the exigencies of a new society.²⁰

"Toutes les institutions sociales doivent avoir pour but l'amélioration du sort moral, physique et intellectuel de la classe la plus nombreuse et la plus pauvre." The famous slogan which *Le Globe*, "journal de la Doctrine Saint-Simonienne," used as its motto in 1831-1832, is heard in the *Journal d'un poète* when Vigny states the nature of the contemporary political and social problem.²¹ His concern with the economic status both of intellectual and of manual labour is manifest in the preface to *Chatterton*, written in 1834; and when we read in *Dernière Nuit de travail*: "J'ai voulu montrer l'homme spiritualiste étouffé par une société matérialiste, où le calculateur avare exploite sans pitié l'intelligence et le travail",²² the neologism thus introduced into French literature shows us clearly the source of his inspiration. The historic scene (*Chatterton*, Act I, scene 2) which brought to the stage in 1835 the conflict of capital and labor is by the same hand which in December 1829 composed the characteristically Saint-Simonian *Chant d'ouvriers*.²³ John Bell, "l'homme riche, le spéculateur heureux, le juste selon la loi," receiving a delegation of workmen from his woollen factory and angrily refusing to reinstate one of their number who had broken an arm in one of the spinning machines, brings to life the famous pages of the *Doctrine* which deal with the *féodalité industrielle*; and the Quaker's comment:

La terre de Norton, avec les maisons et les familles, est portée dans ta main comme le globe dans la main de Charlemagne. Tu es le baron absolu de ta fabrique féodale²⁴

echoes the words of Bazard:

Le rapport du maître avec le salarié est la dernière transformation qu'a subie l'esclavage . . . L'ouvrier est exploité matériellement, intellectuellement et moralement, comme l'était autrefois l'esclave.²⁵

It was against the system of liberal bourgeois economics that the authors of the *Doctrine* directed the brunt of their philosophical attack. They

19. "Un vaste état de guerre systématisé." *Doctrine*, première année, p. 211, and (on the philosophy of history) pp. 127, 195-196, 267.

20. *Op. cit.*, pp. 121-123.

21. "L'amélioration de la classe la plus nombreuse et l'accord entre la capacité prolétaire et l'hérédité propriétaire." *Journal*, p. 70.—Written in 1832.

22. *Théâtre*, Conard ed., II, 242.

23. *Journal d'un poète*, p. 24.

24. *Théâtre*, II, 254.

25. *Doctrine*, première année, pp. 238-240. In 1830, Vigny projected a sequel to *Eloa* showing the angel of Pity "condamnée à animer successivement le corps de l'Esclave de l'antiquité, du Serf du moyen-âge, du Salarié moderne." *Journal d'un poète*, p. 42.

ironize too concerning "la méthode *positive*, adjectif merveilleux devant lequel la foule s'incline respectueusement sans le comprendre,"²⁸ but they devote more space to the critique of utilitarianism. While granting that institutions must be judged in terms of their utility, they reject Bentham's criterion which makes the individual the judge, and insist upon a definition of "ce qu'on doit entendre par l'utilité sociale."²⁷

Dire que le principe général des lois doit être l'utilité, c'est seulement exprimer, en termes détournés, qu'il existe beaucoup de lois *inutiles* ou nuisibles, c'est à dire qui ont cessé d'être en harmonie avec la société agitée par de nouveaux besoins.²⁸

Le système de la morale de l'intérêt bien entendu est la négation de toute morale sociale, puisqu'il suppose que l'homme ne peut et ne doit être déterminé que par des considérations ou des inspirations purement *individuelles*, jamais par l'impulsion des sympathies *sociales*; toujours par un froid calcul . . . En admettant même que ce système pût exercer une influence réelle, cette influence se bornerait à empêcher les hommes de *se nuire*; mais telle n'est pas l'unique obligation qui leur soit imposée: ils doivent encore s'entr'aider, puisque leurs destinées sont enchaînées, puisqu'ils sont solidaires des souffrances, des joies les uns des autres, et qu'ils ne peuvent s'avancer dans les voies de l'amour, de la science, de la puissance, qu'en étendant sans cesse cette solidarité.²⁹

This is the context in which *Chatterton* is literally the "page of philosophy transposed for the theater" which the author calls it.³⁰ One character in the play, Beckford, is the mouthpiece of Benthamite ideas; and the dialogue in which the poet answers the utilitarian argument with the allegory of the Ship of State is the central scene of the *Drame de la Pensée*.³¹

The Saint-Simonians, as we have seen, replace the notion of *utility* with that of *function*; and they recognize as the highest of all functions the insight of inspired genius.

Les progrès dans l'ordre politique, comme dans l'ordre scientifique, sont dus à la même faculté, au génie, à l'inspiration, à l'amour de l'ordre, de l'unité, c'est à dire à la *sympathie*, car c'est elle qui nous rattache au monde qui nous entoure, c'est elle qui nous fait découvrir le *lien* qui existe entre toutes les parties de ce monde dans lequel nous vivons, et nous révèle ainsi en lui une vie semblable à la nôtre.—Telle est la mission des hommes que, par égard pour les pré-

26. *Doctrine*, première année, pp. 181-182. The authors of the *Doctrine* consider Comte a schismatic.

27. *Op. cit.*, p. 310.

28. *Op. cit.*, p. 311.

29. *Op. cit.*, p. 329.

30. *Journal d'un poète*, p. 95.

31. *Chatterton*, Act III, scene 6. Cf.: "Il faut qu'il ne fasse rien d'utile et de journalier pour avoir le temps d'écouter les accords qui se forment lentement dans son âme, et que le bruit grossier d'un travail positif et régulier interrompt et fait infailliblement *évanouir*." (*Dernière nuit de travail*.) "Dois-je dire à l'inspiration ardente: 'Ne viens pas, tu es inutile?'" (*Chatterton*, Act I, scene 5.) *Théâtre*, Conard ed., II, 235, 263.

jugés du siècle qui nous écoute, nous avons nommés *artistes*;³² les artistes, pour nous, sont les hommes qui ont sans cesse imprimé à l'humanité le mouvement progressif . . . ; et, en ce moment même, les hommes qui méritent ce nom sont ceux à qui a été dévoilé le secret des destinées sociales.³³

It was with an enthusiasm equal to Schiller's on reading Kant that Vigny read the pages of this historic book which deal with the function of the artist. The psychology of the poet in Vigny is definitely Saint-Simonian: "Nature plus passionnée,³⁴ plus pure et plus rare, . . . l'imagination le possède par-dessus tout³⁵ . . . ses sympathies sont trop vraies."³⁶ The description of the victimization of genius borrows from the same source. Saint-Simon is described by his disciples as a "génie méconnu."³⁷ They compare him to Christ, both as the founder of a universal communion and because of the thirty-four years of suffering and isolation which he endured: "Poursuivi par les huées de la foule académique, abreuvé de fiel, il fut frappé des verges du XIX^e siècle, la misère et le sarcasme."³⁸ Clearly Vigny is reminded of this page of the *Doctrine* when he writes in *Chatterton*: "Les hommes d'imagination sont éternellement crucifiés; le sarcasme et la misère sont les clous de leur croix."³⁹ And the gift of prophetic insight into the social destiny of man is nowhere more strikingly expressed than in the poet's credo:

Je crois en moi, parce que je sens au fond de mon cœur une puissance secrète, invisible et indéfinissable, toute pareille à un pressentiment d'avenir et à une révélation des causes mystérieuses du temps présent . . . Je crois fermement en une vocation ineffable qui m'est donnée, et j'y crois à cause de la pitié sans bornes que m'inspirent les hommes, mes compagnons en misère, et aussi à cause du désir que je me sens de leur tendre la main et de les élever sans cesse par des paroles de commisération et d'amour.⁴⁰

Long considered as the Sage of the Ivory Tower, Vigny in reality was the most socially conscious of poets, in an age whose literature was, to a degree that is little realized, the forerunner of our own *littérature engagée*.⁴¹ Those

32. A footnote explains that the name *poète*, in critical ages, corresponds to *prêtre*.

33. *Doctrine, première année*, p. 453.

34. Cf. Saint-Simon's last words, to Olinde Rodrigues, his secretary: "Souvenez-vous que, pour faire de grandes choses, il faut être passionné." *Le Globe*, 30 December 1831. "Des hommes essentiellement passionnés de leur nature." Olinde Rodrigues, *L'artiste, le savant et l'industriel*, in *Œuvres de Saint-Simon et d'Enfantin*, XXXIX, 227.

35. Cf. "Nous entendons par artiste le poète dans toute l'étendue de ce mot: le mot *artiste*, dans ce dialogue, comme dans tout l'ouvrage, signifie donc l'homme à imagination, et il embrasse à la fois les travaux du peintre, du musicien, du poète, du littérateur, etc." Rodrigues, *op. cit.*, XXXIX, 204n.

36. *Théâtre*, Conard ed., II, 234-235. The *Doctrine* defines *artistes*: "les hommes doués au plus haut degré de la faculté sympathique." *Doctrine, première année*, p. 366.

37. *Op. cit.*, p. 160.

38. *Op. cit.*, p. 160. (Italics of the original.)

39. *Théâtre*, Conard ed., II, 312. (My italics.)

40. *Stello*, Delagrave ed., pp. 30-32. Cf.: "Il lit dans les astres la route que nous montre le doigt du Seigneur." *Théâtre*, Conard ed., II, 331.

41. For the general study of social romanticism see Roger Picard, *Le Romantisme social*, New York, Brentano, 1944.

often quoted words from *Stello* in praise of solitude are no expression of isolationism. They flow from the desire for independence of party lines of a thinker deeply concerned with social questions.⁴² When Enfantin, in 1831, set himself up before Saint-Simon's disciples as the living law, demanding a Woman Messiah to preside over the destinies of the movement in association with himself, the *Journal d'un poète* speaks contemptuously of this "masquerade grotesque,"⁴³ and in the *Ordonnance du Docteur-Noir*, written contemporaneously, we read: "Toutes les Associations ont tous les défauts des couvents. Elles tendent à classer et à diriger les intelligences, et fondent peu à peu une autorité tyrannique . . . La République des Lettres est la seule qui puisse jamais être composée de citoyens vraiment libres."⁴⁴ Vigny shared Renan's view that philosophic doctrines deteriorate when they transform their principles into dogma; he states it in some notes on his *Daphné*.⁴⁵ But the Epilogue to *Daphné* contains a sympathetic picture of the Saint-Simonian school before the schism, in striking contrast to the hostile characterization which follows of Lamennais, whose *Paroles d'un croyant* displeased him intensely.⁴⁶ And as late as 1839 we find him writing: "Les écoles socialistes de Saint-Simon, tout en poussant leurs idées jusqu'au ridicule volontairement, ont jeté et répandu des germes féconds et vulgarisé quelques principes utiles."⁴⁷

It is in terms of those principles that Vigny, in *Daphné*, states his conception of the social function of the thinker:

Mais vraiment,—reprit Libanius,—ne penses-tu pas que le but d'un orateur et d'un philosophe est aussi de séduire les esprits? Les fleurs de ses discours ne sont-elles pas destinées à engourdir la raison avec leurs parfums?

—Du moins,—reprit Julien,—du moins ont-ils un autre but encore que de plaire, et, s'ils séduisent, c'est pour nous prendre la main et nous conduire où ils veulent; c'est une sorte d'empire, lent il est vrai, mais un empire enfin.⁴⁸

42. "Quand j'ai dit: 'La Solitude est sainte', je n'ai pas entendu par solitude une séparation et un oubli entier des hommes et de la Société, mais une retraite où l'âme se puisse recueillir en elle-même, puisse jouir de ses propres facultés et rassembler ses forces pour produire quelque chose de grand. Cette production ne peut jamais être qu'un reflet des impressions reçues de la société . . ." *Journal d'un poète*, p. 74.—Written in 1832.

43. *Op. cit.*, pp. 216-217 (1832).

44. *Stello*, Delagrave ed., pp. 287-289.

45. A note of 21 October 1844 reproduced in the Appendix to *Daphné* considers the "controverses du socialisme et ses bouffonneries puériles" to be the "contrepoison de l'indifférence en matière de religion." *Daphné*, Delagrave ed., pp. 227-228. The meaning of this cryptical remark with its double reference to Lamennais and to the Saint-Simonian theocracy does not seem to have been grasped by Vigny's critics.

46. *Daphné*, Delagrave, pp. 190-191. Written in part in 1837, *Daphné* was not published till 1913.

47. *Correspondance*, Conard ed., I, 115. The plural *les écoles* is significant. There were many schools of Saint-Simonian thought: on this point see the preface to the critical edition of the *Doctrine, première année*, pp. 66-68. The *Journal d'un poète* refers in 1830 to a group including Buchez as "notre école." *Journal*, p. 88.

48. The Saint-Simonian conception of social science offers a close parallel: "Pour nous, l'histoire, la science sociale et la philosophie ont une autre importance; le but qu'elles

Flottes's statement⁴⁹ that *Daphné* closes the hiatus separating Poetry and Philosophy is true in the sense that Julien is both philosopher and poet, but misleading if it implies the existence in Vigny's earlier writings of any such hiatus. The "continual awareness of his mission which a man with a Muse deep in his heart must ever have within him,"⁵⁰ so far from having been a passing phenomenon,⁵¹ consistently remained an integral part of Vigny's outlook, and is the best attestation of how enduring was the influence upon him of Saint-Simonism.

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doivent se proposer n'est pas de récréer, par le récit de quelques historiettes, un public ennuyé, ou de l'intéresser à des événements politiques qui n'auront qu'un instant de durée, ou bien encore de le distraire par des discussions arides, incomplètes, arriérées, sur les procédés, sur le mécanisme des facultés intellectuelles; il faut qu'elles révèlent avec certitude à l'humanité son avenir, qu'elles le justifient par sa marche passée, qu'elles lui montrent les progrès déjà accomplis, et ceux qui lui restent à faire, enfin qu'elles le passionnent pour ce noble but de ses travaux, pour cette grande récompense de ses efforts, pour cette douce compensation de ses longues souffrances." *Doctrine, première année*, p. 89. Italics of the original.

49. P. Flottes, *La Pensée politique et sociale d'Alfred de Vigny*, Perrin, 1925, p. 175.

50. *Stello*, Delagrave ed., p. 276.

51. According to Flottes, Vigny was "passagèrement Saint-Simonien, ou plutôt Buchézien." *La Pensée politique et sociale d'Alfred de Vigny*, p. 66.

FROM IMAGINATION TO IMMEDIACY IN FRENCH POETRY

ONE OF THE THINGS that has struck me most in my reading of modern poetic theory and criticism is the infrequency of the word imagination, and the restricted sense it seems to have when it is used. This is particularly true of French theory and criticism, somewhat less so of American, and decidedly less so of English. Even with the most "modern" English poets the Coleridgean conception of the imagination as the "true inward creatrix," "that synthetic and magical power," is far from having lost its force.

This decline of the word imagination in France seems on the face of it curious. Modern poetry is dominated by the image, whether it be the carefully wrought symbol, or the fantastic vision that surges up from the subconscious. A poetry of images, but not of imagination, savors of the paradoxical. Moreover practically all modern critics agree in tracing the genealogy of modern poetry back to Baudelaire, the greatest exponent in France of the idea of the creative imagination. All this has led me to probe into the problem, to ask just how the conception of the imagination has changed, to what extent the conception, or elements of it, remain under different names, how the change in theory is reflected in poetic practice, and what explanations can be found for it. Only a complete history of poetry from Baudelaire to the present could tell the whole story; here I shall attempt only to suggest the lines that could be developed in a fuller study, to select a few of many possible examples. I am all too aware that in the course of this study I have raised more questions than I have answered.

The conception of the creative imagination, gradually developed in Baudelaire's criticism,¹ reaches its height in the paean to the "reine des facultés," in the "Salon de 1859." It embraces and synthesizes three activities. First there is the power to see and recall the images of nature, the old "passive imagination." After quoting Delacroix, "La nature n'est qu'un dictionnaire," Baudelaire goes on: "Tout l'univers visible n'est qu'un magasin d'images et de signes auxquels l'imagination donnera une place et une valeur relative; c'est une espèce de pâture que l'imagination doit digérer et transformer."² The imagination first registers and recalls images common to human experience. Next comes what is for Baudelaire the essential poetic experience, the discovery of the invisible and spiritual world beyond the visible and natural one, linked to it by correspondences. This quality of the imagination is stressed in the "Notes nouvelles sur

1. See M. Gilman, *Baudelaire the Critic*, New York, Columbia University Press, 1943, pp. 118-133.

2. Baudelaire, *Œuvres*, Ed. de la Pléiade, 1931-1932, 2 vols., II, 232.

Edgar Poe": "L'imagination est une faculté quasi divine qui perçoit tout d'abord, en dehors des méthodes philosophiques, les rapports intimes et secrets des choses, les correspondances et les analogies."³ This is the stage of discovery, the transition from outer to inner reality, the moment of inspiration, of "enthusiasm," which is the most mysterious part of the poetic process. It is still a passive experience (allied by many modern critics to the experience of the mystics), an illumination which is beyond the poet's control. But for Baudelaire the imagination goes further, and arrives at its truly creative stage: "Elle décompose toute la création, et, avec les matériaux amassés et disposés suivant des règles dont on ne peut trouver l'origine que dans le plus profond de l'âme, elle crée un monde nouveau, elle produit la sensation du neuf."⁴ It is indeed impossible to draw a sharp line between this stage of the imagination and the preceding one. Much of the creative work may be concurrent with the poetic experience, and the poet may well find himself, as in "Le Soleil,"

*Trébuchant sur les mots comme sur les pavés,
Heurtant parfois des vers longtemps rêvés.*

But the poet is not the slave of his experience. His "immense magasin d'observations" is at his disposal, to be rearranged, re-created, so as to translate for us the poetic experience. Baudelaire maintains that the imagination includes the critical faculty,⁵ that "le poète est souverainement intelligent."⁶ He concludes: "L'imagination est la reine du vrai, et le possible est une des provinces du vrai. Elle est positivement apparentée avec l'infini."⁷ The final task of the poet is this creation of the possible, the translation into words and images of his vision.

There is at least an apparent contradiction, which is worth noting, between this final creative authority of the poet and the full acceptance of the doctrine of correspondences, as Baudelaire expressed it in his article on Victor Hugo:

Chez les excellents poètes, il n'y a pas de métaphore, de comparaison ou d'épithète qui ne soit d'une adaptation mathématiquement exacte dans la circonstance actuelle, parce que ces comparaisons, ces métaphores et ces épithètes sont puisées dans l'inépuisable fonds de l'universelle analogie, et qu'elles ne peuvent être puisées ailleurs.⁸

As Jean Pommier has said, this would seem to imply that "Ces signes que vous lisez ou qui vous parlent, ces hiéroglyphes ou ces verbes, selon que vous voudrez les appeler, vous devez penser qu'ils disent la même chose en

3. E. A. Poe, *Histoires*, traduction de Charles Baudelaire, Ed. de la Pléiade, 1932, p. 707.

4. *Œuvres*, II, 226.

5. *Ibid.*, II, 228-229.

6. *Œuvres complètes*, éd. F.-F. Gautier et Y.-G. Le Dantec, Nouvelle Revue Française, *Correspondance*, I (1933), 130.

7. *Œuvres*, II, 227.

8. *Ibid.*, II, 521.

tout temps, et à tous."⁹ This would make of the poet no more than a faithful reporter of his discoveries, leaving no further work for the imagination. But Baudelaire, at the expense of complete logical consistency, maintains the final creative right of the poet, the conscious and voluntary act: "Les peintres qui obéissent à l'imagination cherchent dans leur dictionnaire les éléments qui s'accordent à leur conception; encore, en les ajustant avec un certain art, leur donnent-ils une physionomie toute nouvelle."¹⁰ He claims for the poet the "exercice assidu de la volonté,"¹¹ not the passive submission to experience. The translation of the hieroglyphs of nature is not the same for all poets, as Baudelaire points out in "Alchimie de la douleur":

*L'un l'éclaire avec son ardeur,
L'autre en toi met son deuil, Nature!
Ce qui dit à l'un: Sépulture!
Dit à l'autre: Vie et splendeur!*

Baudelaire's conception of the imagination entails a compromise between the dictates of "l'universelle analogie" and the individual creative freedom of the poet.¹² This is a compromise which many later poets refused; Baudelaire, I believe, accepted it consciously, and it is in that acceptance, to my mind, that one of the reasons for his poetic greatness lies. He succeeded in synthesizing in his conception of the imagination the storing up of images perceived in nature, the poetic experience through which those images are deciphered and their inner meaning discovered, and the final creative activity which gives form to that experience. The whole process is summed up in the opening paragraph of "L'Art philosophique": "Qu'est-ce que l'art pur suivant la conception moderne? C'est créer une magie suggestive contenant à la fois l'objet et le sujet, le monde extérieur à l'artiste et l'artiste lui-même."¹³

So far I have discussed Baudelaire's theory of the imagination; I should now like to suggest how it is exemplified in his poetry. I need hardly recall Baudelaire's insistence in his article on Wagner that poetry comes first and theory afterwards.¹⁴ The theory of the imagination is not a recipe by which poetry is written; it is a conclusion derived from it.

The first point I should like to emphasize is the persistence in Baudelaire's

9. Jean Pommier, *La Mystique de Baudelaire*, Les Belles Lettres, 1932, p. 98.

10. *Œuvres*, II, 230. Cf. what Baudelaire says of his own poetic practice in his article on Marceline Desbordes-Valmore: "Je me suis toujours plu à chercher dans la nature extérieure et visible des exemples et des métaphores qui me servissent à caractériser les jouissances et les impressions d'un ordre spirituel" (*Œuvres*, II, 536).

11. "Poème du haschisch," *ibid.*, I, 318. Cf. the lines of "Paysage":

Car je serai plongé dans cette volupté
D'évoquer le Printemps avec ma volonté.

12. "Le monde naturel pénètre dans le spirituel, lui sert de pâture, et concourt ainsi à opérer cet amalgame indéfinissable que nous nommons notre individualité" (*Œuvres*, I, 271).

13. *Ibid.*, II, 367.

14. "La poésie a existé, s'est affirmée la première, et elle a engendré l'étude des règles" (*Œuvres*, II, 496).

poetry of the image drawn from concrete reality, from everyday experience. These images, in Baudelaire's hands, will be deciphered and interpreted and modified, he will move from the outer reality to the inner reality, but the point of departure, in nearly every case, is an experience common to the poet and his reader. The reader is led gradually from the familiar to the unfamiliar, from the ordinary vision to the poetic vision: in "Le Crépuscule du matin" from

La diane chantait dans les cours des casernes

to

L'aurore grelottante en robe rose et verte;

in "Recueillement" from

Une atmosphère obscure enveloppe la ville

to

*. Vois se pencher les défunctes Années,
Sur les balcons du ciel, en robes surannées.*

Again and again the primary image is a familiar one to the reader: the sound of

Le bois retentissant sur le pavé des cours

in "Chant d'automne"; the "bruit des carillons qui chantent dans la brume" in "La Cloche fêlée"; and "la pluie étalant ses immenses traînées" in the last "Spleen." The poet proceeds from these images to their inner meanings:

Tout l'hiver va rentrer dans mon être;

Moi, mon âme est fêlée . . .

— Et de longs corbillards, sans tambours ni musique,

Défilent lentement dans mon âme . . .

It would be easy to multiply examples of the way in which Baudelaire leads his reader from what anyone might perceive to what only the poet can perceive. As he says in "Fusées": "Dans certains états de l'âme presque sur-naturels, la profondeur de la vie se révèle tout entière dans le spectacle, si ordinaire qu'il soit, qu'on a sous les yeux."¹⁵ Even when the landscape of the poem is a less known and familiar one, it is derived from the known, whether it be the "pays plus nu que la terre polaire" of "De profundis clamavi," or the setting of the "Invitation au voyage": "Pays singulier, supérieur aux autres, comme l'art l'est à la Nature, où celle-ci est réformée par le rêve, où elle est corrigée, embellie, refondue." In the relatively few visionary poems, when Baudelaire is, as he says in "La Voix," "de ma clair-voyance extatique victime," when

15. *Ibid.*, II, 634.

..... *Derrière les décors*
De l'existence immense, au plus noir de l'abîme,
Je vois distinctement des mondes singuliers,

he does not confuse vision and reality. The vision is superposed on reality; it does not annihilate it:

Fourmillante cité, cité pleine de rêves,
Où le spectre en plein jour raccroche le passant.¹⁶

In the most purely visionary poem of all, "Rêve parisien," the vision is still recognized as vision, as dream set against concrete reality. After

..... *ce terrible paysage*
Tel que jamais mortel n'en vit,

comes the awakening,

En rouvrant mes yeux pleins de flamme
J'ai vu l'horreur de mon taudis.

All through Baudelaire's poetry the natural world is the key to the supernatural world. In its final creative work the imagination reorganizes both the everyday and the poetic experiences, using all the resources of the poet's art to fuse them into the finished poem. I should like to cite one more example, the poem in which it seems to me that Baudelaire suggests most clearly the workings of the imagination: "Le Cygne." The poem begins with a plunge into poetic experience: "Andromaque, je pense à vous!" Here is the theme of exile which is at the heart of the poem. But almost immediately Baudelaire goes back to the everyday experience which had been his point of departure: "je traversais le nouveau Carrousel." Here, as so often with Baudelaire, it is not the immediate experience, but the memories recalled by that experience, in which the poet finds his analogies, his correspondences:

Je ne vois qu'en esprit tout ce camp de baraques,

Là s'étalait jadis une ménagerie;
Là je vis un matin
Un cygne qui s'était évadé de sa cage.

Memory brings back a concrete experience, with all its significant detail. Then the second part of the poem begins with the keynote, "tout pour moi devient allégorie," and we come to the translation of the experience: "Je pense à mon grand cygne . . . et puis à vous, Andromaque." The thread of the poetic experience, dropped at the beginning, is picked up again and prolonged, from Andromache to all the other unhappy exiles, from the "négresse, amaigrie et phthisique" to the final dying echo of the "cor du souvenir":

16. "Les Sept Vieillards." Cf. "La Béatrice," "Je vis en plein midi . . ."

*Je pense aux matelots oubliés dans une île,
Aux captifs, aux vaincus! . . . à bien d'autres encor!*

It seems to me that it would hardly be possible to find a better example of the workings of the creative imagination; the starting point in an everyday experience, which arouses memories of a past experience, then the interpreting and translating of that experience, and finally the ordering and re-creating of experience into a poem. And I should like to emphasize the amount of final conscious creative work that, I venture to say, must have gone into the poem, the construction that is so evident, for example, in the last stanzas, where we move from the clear-cut figures of Andromache and the negress to vaguer and less characterized groups which melt away into the final "à bien d'autres encor."

I shall go on now from the Baudelairean imagination to the imagination in French poetry since Baudelaire. As I have noted, although so much of modern poetry stems from Baudelaire, the word imagination disappears—not gradually, but almost immediately—from most poetic theory and criticism after his time. I shall note cases in which it does occur, nearly always, as far as I have been able to discover, with a restricted significance. But the real question is, to what extent does the conception persist, in spite of the disappearance of the word? I would suggest at the start that there is a disintegration of the Baudelairean synthesis of concrete experience, poetic vision and creative activity, the disappearance of one or another of these elements, coupled with the exaggeration of some other one.

There is a general tendency among recent critics to see two major lines of descent from Baudelaire, the *artistes* and the *voyants*.¹⁷ The two lines correspond, I think, with one of the chief splits in the conception of the imagination, and I shall take them up separately, but I should first like to consider what they have in common. The elimination of the word *imagination* is marked in both (even more with the *artistes* than with the *voyants*), and the word around which discussion centers is *poetry*. "What is poetry? What is the function of the poet?" It is in these discussions that we shall find ourselves on the track of the imagination.

The common ground of all these poets is their exclusion from poetry of ordinary experience, of concrete reality as such. This reality is no longer, as it had been for Baudelaire, the point of departure for poetic experience; it is eliminated or transformed from the very start.¹⁸ The two groups of poets

17. "Une première filière, celle des *artistes*, conduirait de Baudelaire à Mallarmé, puis à Valéry; une autre filière, celle des *voyants*, de Baudelaire à Rimbaud, puis aux derniers venus des chercheurs d'aventures" (Marcel Raymond, *De Baudelaire au surréalisme*, nouvelle édition revue et remaniée, Corti, 1940, p. 11).

18. In this discussion of the modern poets' changed conception of reality, and their attitude toward it, I have found a number of general works on modern poetry illuminating and suggestive. I am particularly indebted to Marcel Raymond's *De Baudelaire au surréalisme* and to two books by Marc Eigeldinger, *Le Dynamisme de l'image dans la poésie française* and *Poésie et tendances* (Neuchâtel, Editions de la Baconnière, 1943 and 1945).

would both be in agreement with the words of a modern poet, Pierre Reverdy: "Plus l'artiste saura se dégager de cette réalité sensible qui le sollicite, plus son œuvre atteindra efficacement cette source cachée de la réalité."¹⁹ The whole conception of reality is changing, and the change is accompanied by a growing distrust and disparagement of the world of the senses on the part of the poets.

This rejection of the world of the senses is carried to its extreme by Mallarmé. His goal is the attainment of "une Conception Pure," an immediate contact, outside time and space, with the Absolute.²⁰ The task of the poet becomes a formidable one: to express this experience of the Absolute. No direct means of expression exists, and the poet is forced into using the language of the world of appearances, for him an illusory one, to express what is for him the only authentic reality.²¹ There must be a transubstantiation of language from direct expression to allusion, evocation, suggestion. Poetry is "un Idéalisme qui (pareillement aux fugues, aux sonates) refuse les matériaux naturels et, comme brutale, une pensée exacte les ordonnant; pour ne garder de rien que la suggestion."²² This is what Mallarmé means by poetic creation:

La poésie consistant à créer, il faut prendre dans l'âme humaine des états, des lueurs d'une pureté si absolue que, bien chantés et bien mis en lumière, cela constitue en effet les joyaux de l'homme: là, il y a symbole, il y a création, et le mot poésie a ici son sens: c'est, en somme, la seule création humaine possible.²³

In such poetry concrete reality is reduced to a minimum. As an example of the change I would suggest a comparison of Mallarmé's swan ("Le vierge, le vivace et le bel aujourd'hui") with Baudelaire's; the latter is concrete experience illuminated and translated, the former is veiled suggestion and allusion. And in Mallarmé's latest poems it is the absence of the concrete object of which we are aware; "une dentelle s'abolit," the flower is "l'absente de tous bouquets."

The attenuation of outward reality reaches its extreme limit in Mallarmé. And with it there goes the elimination, in theory at least, of the poetic experience, the intuition that proceeds from the visible world to the invisible. All that is left of the Baudelairean imagination is the final conscious creative activity; the poet's goal is to express, by words purified of any precise and direct meaning, an immediate contact with the Absolute, which is for him the only true reality. The poet is no longer satisfied with

19. Pierre Reverdy, *Le Gant de crin*, Plon, 1926, p. 29.

20. Letter to Henri Cazalis, May 14, 1867. Stéphane Mallarmé, *Propos sur la poésie*, recueillis et présentés par Henri Mondor, Monaco, Editions du Rocher, 1946, p. 77.

21. "Pour Mallarmé la réalité du monde n'est qu'un songe, une apparence, elle n'a qu'une valeur illusoire, artificielle, relative à notre pensée. Les choses matérielles sont des signes, symboles précaires d'un ordre supérieur, qui ne présentent d'intérêt que par rapport à leur signification idéale" (Marc Eigeldinger, *Le Dynamisme de l'image dans la poésie française*, p. 178).

22. "Crise de vers," *Divagations*, Charpentier, n. d., p. 245.

23. Jules Huret, *Enquête sur l'évolution littéraire*, Charpentier, 1901, p. 63.

the imagination, which, as Coleridge says, "dissolves, diffuses, dissipates, in order to recreate"; he must vie with the Creator of all things, and aim at a creation *ex nihilo*. As Jacques Maritain says: "créer comme Dieu crée, c'est le tourment de certains grands artistes, qui à la fin, à force de vouloir être purement créateurs, et ne rien devoir à la vision des êtres que Dieu a eu l'indiscrétion de faire avant eux, n'ont plus d'autre ressource que de brusquer et saccager artistement leur art."²⁴ But because the poet is human, and not divine, he must inevitably compromise with outward reality. Here is the source of the sense of failure that tormented Mallarmé:

Nous mettons notre courte vie, nos faibles forces, en balance avec un idéal qui, par définition même, ne saurait être atteint. Nous sommes donc forcément des *ratés prédestinés*; comment nous plaindre de ce destin que nous avons choisi? Plus nous visons haut et loin, plus nous rêvons l'absolu, et plus nous sommes, par avance, *ratés*.²⁵

The attempt to make of poetry the direct expression of "la métaphysique et claustrale éternité"²⁶ cannot but end in despair.

The symbolist school claimed to derive much of its doctrine from Mallarmé.²⁷ But in practice, instead of Mallarmé's bold ventures onto "les plus purs glaciers de l'Esthétique," the majority of the symbolists contented themselves with relatively timid excursions from everyday reality into the well-traveled realms of mythology and legend. Too often, as Marcel Raymond has said: "On vit . . . un poète qui voulait 'suggérer le mystère' se détourner des mystères réels pour en inventer d'autres, par dilettantisme, par goût de l'objet précieux et énigmatique."²⁸ Poetry comes down from the transcendental level to the literary one, and we have not so much a disintegration of the imagination as a dilution of it.²⁹ So I am leaving the symbolists aside, and going on to Mallarmé's greatest disciple, Paul Valéry.

24. Jacques Maritain, "De la connaissance poétique," *Situation de la poésie*, Desclée de Brouwer, 1938, p. 134.

25. Camille Mauclair, *Mallarmé chez lui*, Grasset, 1935, pp. 100-101.

26. "Catholicisme," *Divagations*, p. 300.

27. "Le symbolisme ne fut, n'est rien d'autre que la volonté de pénétrer la poésie dans son essence" (Jean Royère, *La Phalange*, 1909, p. 86. Quoted in *De Baudelaire au surréalisme*, p. 119).

28. *De Baudelaire au surréalisme*, p. 57.

29. I should perhaps note here that I have avoided as far as possible the use of the word *symbol* in this discussion of the imagination, and kept to the more general and safe term of *image*. There have been constant attempts, beginning with the theorists of the symbolist school, and carried to an extreme by certain modern critics, to arrive at a rigid definition of the symbol as opposed to metaphor and allegory; an attempt which often involves a redefinition of all the terms in question. A study of the use of the word symbol by poets and critics for the last hundred years would be, I am sure, a fruitful and illuminating one, and far from irrelevant to the question of the imagination, but it would lead me too far afield. I do want, however, to call attention to the fact that both Baudelaire and Mallarmé use *metaphor*, *allegory* and *symbol* loosely and interchangeably, with no apparent sense of hierarchy. This might well suggest that the symbol, instead of being a special category of image, is rather the culmination of a conception toward which poetic imagery since Baudelaire has tended, that the difference is not one of kind but of degree.

Valéry is perhaps the most difficult to deal with of all the poets I am discussing; both because of certain apparent inconsistencies in his poetic theory, and because, to my mind, the theory is far from offering an adequate explanation of the poetic practice. Valéry has produced a large body of poetic theory, and it is not easy to discuss in a short space the question of its relation to the theory of the imagination. The center of his theory is intellectual activity: "Le caractère de l'homme est la conscience; et celui de la conscience, une perpétuelle exhaustion, un détachement sans repos et sans exception de tout ce qu'y [sic] paraît, quoi qui paraisse."³⁰ This activity is not confused with poetry, as with Mallarmé, but is the primary activity.³¹ Poetic activity brings the poet back from the pure detachment of the conscience to the use of language, by its very nature impure. Here is the dilemma which is constantly present in Valéry's thought, the attempt to reconcile the pure activity of the thinker and the impure activity of the artist. It does not lead to the deep frustration of Mallarmé, for poetic creation is not Valéry's exclusive goal. He can accept the fact that poetry is a compromise, and find his solution in making it as completely conscious an activity as possible, in creating a poetic language distinct from everyday language. As he says: "*Ecrire* était déjà pour moi une opération toute distincte de l'expression instantanée de quelque 'idée' par le langage immédiatement excité."³² Yet this purified poetry, unlike Mallarmé's, does not postulate a distrust or denial of the world of the senses: "tout ce que j'ai dit ou cru dire se passe entre ce que nous appelons le *Monde extérieur*, ce que nous appelons *Notre Corps*, et ce que nous appelons *Notre Esprit*."³³ However abstract Valéry's subject matter may be, it is deliberately translated into concrete terms.³⁴

Conscious creation through sensuous expression is the essence of Valéry's poetic theory. The rôle of poetic experience, of inspiration, is a more difficult problem. It is easy to point out passages, especially in Valéry's earlier writings, which appear to reject any inspiration, any "poetic state": "La véritable condition d'un véritable poète est ce qu'il y a de plus distinct de l'état de rêve."³⁵ Yet many other passages treat explicitly of the poetic emotion which sets the poet to work:

30. "Note et digression," *Variété*, Gallimard, 1924, p. 200.

31. "Le fait de l'homme est de créer en deux temps dont l'un s'écoule dans le domaine du pur possible, au sein de la substance subtile qui peut imiter toutes choses et les combiner à l'infini entre elles. L'autre temps est celui de la nature" (*Eupalinos, ou l'architecte*, Gallimard, 1923, p. 182).

32. "Fragments de mémoires d'un poème," *Variété V*, Gallimard, 1945, p. 86.

33. "Poésie et pensée abstraite," *Variété V*, p. 141.

34. Cf. what Valéry says of *La Jeune Parque*: "je tenais essentiellement à ne pas verser dans l'abstraction mais, au contraire, à incarner dans une langue aussi imagée que possible et aussi musicale que possible, le personnage fictif que je créais" ("Sur les 'Narcisse'," in *Paul Valéry vivant*, Cahiers du Sud, 1946, p. 289).

35. "Au sujet d'Adonis," *Variété*, p. 56.

Ebranlement initial et *toujours accidentel* qui va construire en nous l'instrument poétique Quelle est cette espèce d'émotion? Je la connais en moi à ce caractère que tous les objets possibles du monde ordinaire, extérieur ou intérieur, les êtres, les événements, les sentiments et les actes, demeurant ce qu'ils sont d'ordinaire quant à leurs apparences, se trouvent tout à coup dans une relation indéfinissable, mais merveilleusement juste avec les modes de notre sensibilité générale.³⁶

Here is the poetic experience without a doubt. And Valéry goes on to admit the analogies between this poetic universe and the dream-world in which the outer world *appears* the same as in our waking hours, but with changed relationships and meanings, which represent "comme des symboles ou des allégories, les fluctuations immédiates de notre sensibilité *générale*, non contrôlée par les sensibilités de nos sens spécialisés."³⁷ But this poetic state is involuntary and accidental, and is not sufficient to make one into a poet, any more than dreaming of treasure is sufficient to make one find it sparkling at the foot of one's bed on waking up. Indeed, Valéry continues, the function of the poet is not to experience the poetic state, but to create it in others, not to be inspired, but to inspire. There is a clear distinction between poetic experience and poetic creation:

Un poète, en tant qu'architecte de poèmes, est donc assez différent de ce qu'il est comme producteur de ces éléments précieux dont toute poésie doit être composée, mais dont la composition se distingue, et exige un travail mental tout différent.³⁸

The poetic experience, like the sensuous experience, is material from which the poet constructs "le monde du poème . . . essentiellement fermé et complet en lui-même, étant le système pur des ornements et des chances du langage."³⁹ The art of writing is constantly opposed to immediate expression. At rare moments, indeed, the very form of a line of poetry may be given to the poet: "Les dieux, gracieusement, nous donnent *pour rien* tel premier vers; mais c'est à nous de façonner le second, qui doit consonner avec l'autre, et ne pas être indigne de son aîné surnaturel."⁴⁰ Valéry has given more than one example out of his own experience, as when he writes of the last three lines of "La Jeune Parque": "ces trois vers . . . me sont venus il y a 15 jours, tout rôtis, de la Muse, sans attente ni provocation, dans la rue. Je leur ai fait une place."⁴¹

Valéry, while not going to such lengths as Mallarmé in the attempt to suppress all elements of the imagination except the final creative activity,

36. "Poésie et pensée abstraite," *Variété V*, pp. 136-137.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 138.

38. *Ibid.*, p. 159.

39. "Homage," *Variété*, p. 159.

40. "Au sujet d'Adonis," *Variété*, p. 67.

41. Letter to Pierre Louÿs, *Œuvres complètes*, Editions du Sagittaire, II (1931), 125. There is an amusing proof of Valéry's highhandedness with the gifts of the Muse in the fact that one of these three lines is very considerably altered in the definitive version of the poem (*Poésies*, Gallimard, 1944, p. 106).

subordinates all else to it, making of sensuous experience a tool for that activity, and relegating poetic experience to the status of an accidental and somewhat unreliable phenomenon. Whereas for Baudelaire the final creative act was the perfecting of the expression of the poetic experience, for him the keystone of poetry, for Valéry the conscious activity is supreme. On the rare occasions when he uses the word imagination it represents for him this function: "La combinaison des représentations en quoi consiste l'imagination n'est possible que par leur réductibilité, leur simplification, leur réduction à l'état *signe*, c'est-à-dire *acte*."⁴²

It can well be maintained that Valéry, the "poète malgré lui," as Abbé Bremond called him, owed more in his poetry to emotional experience, indeed to inspiration, than his somewhat grudging admissions would indicate. In his greatest poems, "La Jeune Parque," "Le Cimetière marin," "Fragments du Narcisse," there is more than the translation of abstract ideas into concrete images; the abstractions are felt as well as thought. But one sometimes feels that the emotion was recollected in rather too much tranquillity, that Valéry forgot, as Wordsworth did not, that "the emotion is contemplated till, by a species of reaction, the tranquillity gradually disappears, and an emotion, kindred to that which was before the subject of contemplation, is gradually produced." Valéry's tendency is to move from the abstract to the concrete, flinging a bridge across the mysterious abyss of intuitive experience. The relations and proportions of the elements of the Baudelairean synthesis have been profoundly altered.

The poetic theories of Mallarmé and Valéry, of all the partisans of "pure poetry," stress conscious activity, detaching poetry as much as possible from both immediate experience, sensuous or intuitive, and the direct expression of such experience. So it might well seem that poetry was moving away from immediacy, rather than toward it, as my title suggests. But parallel with the *artistes* (in general admired rather than imitated by most poets today) there is the long line of *voyants*. With them the disintegration of the imagination follows a very different pattern; poetic experience rather than conscious creation has the foremost place, and with the change we are on the road to immediacy.

As I said earlier, *voyants* and *artistes* were alike in eliminating the everyday experience of concrete reality from their poetry. For Baudelaire this common experience had been the basis for the poetic experience which translates and transforms it. In Rimbaud there is an immediate passage to the inner experience: "La première étude de l'homme qui veut être poète est sa propre connaissance, entière."⁴³ The poet's vision is not a penetration of the inner world through the outer world; the immediate perception is of a transformed—sometimes, it seems, deformed—reality. "Je dis qu'il faut

42. "Analecta," *Tel Quel*, Gallimard, 1944, 2 vols., II, 223.

43. Letter to Paul Demeny, May 15, 1871 ("Lettre du Voyant"). *Lettres de la vie littéraire d'Arthur Rimbaud*, éd. Jean-Marie Carré, Gallimard, 1931, p. 61.

être voyant, se faire VOYANT. Le Poète se fait voyant par un long, immense et raisonné dérèglement de tous les sens."⁴⁴ Perception becomes hallucination: "Je m'habituai à l'hallucination simple: je voyais très franchement une mosquée à la place d'une usine, une école de tambours faite par des anges, des calèches sur les routes du ciel, un salon au fond d'un lac."⁴⁵ The poetic experience ceases to be a stage of the creative process and becomes an end in itself, a way of knowledge.⁴⁶ The poet's experience is not the material of which a poem is made, but the ultimate goal, of which what the poet writes is the report: "Si ce qu'il rapporte de là-bas a forme, il donne forme; si c'est informe, il donne de l'informe."⁴⁷ The experience, whatever it may be, is sacrosanct: "Je finis par trouver sacré le désordre de mon esprit."⁴⁸ The relation of this doctrine to Rimbaud's poetry, particularly to the *Illuminations*, is obvious. The reality we know has disappeared, and the poet plunges, with no intermediate steps, into his private reality. One need only compare Baudelaire's "Crépuscule du matin," so grounded in the familiar and known, with Rimbaud's "Aube":

J'ai embrassé l'aube d'été.

Rien ne bougeait encore au front des palais. L'eau était morte. Les camps d'ombres ne quittaient pas la route du bois. J'ai marché, réveillant les haleines vives et tièdes; et les pierreries regardèrent, et les ailes se levèrent sans bruit.

La première entreprise fut, dans le sentier déjà empli de frais et blêmes éclats, une fleur qui me dit son nom.⁴⁹

Or one may compare with the "Tableaux parisiens" Rimbaud's visionary "Villes," where "des châlets de cristal et de bois se meuvent sur des rails et des poulies invisibles," where "un bras de mer, sans bateaux, roule sa nappe de grésil bleu entre des quais chargés de candélabres géants." The poet may well say, "J'ai seul la clef de cette parade sauvage."⁵⁰

Rimbaud's poetic theory and practice bring another form of the disintegration of the creative imagination. Everyday reality is shattered, and its fragments transformed, by the "dérèglement de tous les sens," into a hallucinatory world, the only authentic one for the poet, the experience of which is his final goal. The second stage of the Baudelairean imagination, the strictly poetic experience, is glorified into the whole of poetry, which is no longer a creation of art but a way of life. Those who see in the Baudelaire of *Les Paradis artificiels* a legitimate ancestor of this poetry might well recall

44. *Ibid.*, p. 62.

45. *Une Saison en Enfer*, Mercure de France, 1926, p. 70.

46. The poet is "le suprême Savant!—Car, il arrive à l'inconnu! Puisqu'il a cultivé son âme, déjà riche, plus qu'aucun! Il arrive à l'inconnu; et quand, affolé, il finirait par perdre l'intelligence de ses visions, il les a vues!" (*Lettres*, pp. 62-63).

47. *Lettres*, p. 64.

48. *Une Saison en Enfer*, p. 71.

49. *Les Illuminations*, Mercure de France, 1927, pp. 88-89.

50. *Ibid.*, pp. 106, 110, 123.

the conclusion of the "Poème du haschisch," to which I have already referred: "Ces infortunés qui n'ont ni jeûné, ni prié, et qui ont refusé la rédemption par le travail, demandent à la noire magie les moyens de s'élever, d'un seul coup, à l'existence surnaturelle."⁵¹ But the last word may be left to Rimbaud himself:

J'ai créé toutes les fêtes, tous les triomphes, tous les drames. J'ai essayé d'inventer de nouvelles fleurs, de nouveaux astres, de nouvelles chairs, de nouvelles langues. J'ai cru acquérir des pouvoirs surnaturels. Eh bien! je dois enterrer mon imagination et mes souvenirs! Une belle gloire d'artiste et de conteur emportée!

Moi! moi qui me suis dit mage ou ange, dispensé de toute morale, je suis rendu au sol, avec un devoir à chercher, et la réalité rugueuse à étreindre! Paysan!⁵²

Here is the word imagination, standing for the "recherche de l'inconnu" which ended for Rimbaud in hell.

This disintegration of the imagination, its separation from both concrete reality and artistic activity, can be followed on down to the surrealists. The metamorphoses of Lautréamont are a step beyond the hallucinations of Rimbaud:

La métamorphose ne parut jamais à mes yeux que comme le haut et magnanime retentissement d'un bonheur parfait, que j'attendais depuis longtemps. Il était enfin venu, le jour où je fus un pourceau! J'essayais mes dents sur l'écorce des arbres; mon groin, je le contemplais avec délice. Il ne me restait plus la moindre parcelle de divinité: je sus élever mon âme jusqu'à l'excessive hauteur de cette volupté ineffable.⁵³

Lautréamont uses the word imagination in this connection, speaking of "un état inaccoutumé, assez souvent très grave, qui marque que la limite accordée par le bon sens à l'imagination est quelquefois, malgré le pacte conclu entre ces deux puissances, malheureusement dépassée."⁵⁴ And at the beginning of the last "Chant" he refers to his goal as "les contrées de l'imagination." Lautréamont's imagination, instead of interpreting past experience, creates future experience; it is a creation not of art, but of life.⁵⁵

It is in this sense that Apollinaire will use the word create: "C'est que poésie et création ne sont qu'une même chose; on ne doit appeler poète que celui qui invente, celui qui crée, dans la mesure où l'homme peut créer. Le poète est celui qui découvre de nouvelles joies, fussent-elles pénibles à

51. *Œuvres*, I, 318.

52. *Une Saison en Enfer*, p. 109.

53. Lautréamont, *Les Chants de Maldoror*, 4e Chant, *Œuvres complètes*, éd. Edmond Jaloux, Corti, 1938, p. 198.

54. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

55. See the excellent discussion of Lautréamont's imagination in Gaston Bachelard, *Lautréamont*, Corti, 1939. "L'imagination pure désigne ses formes projetées comme l'essence de la réalisation qui lui convient. Elle jouit naturellement d'imaginer, donc de changer de forme. La métamorphose devient ainsi la fonction spécifique de l'imagination" (p. 195).

supporter." The imagination is the special domain of the poet in the more limited sense. And again the prophetic rôle of poetry is stressed: "Les poètes modernes sont donc des créateurs, des inventeurs et des prophètes."⁵⁶

With the surrealists the conception of poetry as experience will be carried to its logical limits. Tzara writes:

Dénonçons au plus vite un malentendu qui prétendait classer la poésie sous la rubrique des moyens d'expression. La poésie qui ne se distingue des romans que par sa forme extérieure, la poésie qui exprime soit des idées, soit des sentiments, n'intéresse plus personne. Je lui oppose la poésie *activité de l'esprit*.⁵⁷

For André Breton imagination is complete liberty, the road to true reality: "La seule imagination me rend compte de ce qui *peut être*, et c'est assez pour lever un peu le terrible interdit; assez aussi pour que je m'abandonne à elle sans crainte de me tromper."⁵⁸ "Ce qui *peut être*" recalls Baudelaire's alliance of "le possible" with the imagination. But Breton's possible is not a province of the true. It is the only truth. Imagination is no longer the discovery of the relationship between two worlds, it is the means by which the poet hopes to realize them as one. "Je crois à la résolution future de ces deux états, en apparence si contradictoires, que sont le rêve et la réalité, en une sorte de réalité absolue, de *surréalité*, si l'on peut ainsi dire," says Breton.⁵⁹ The poet penetrates directly into this surreality; Eluard writes: "Je devins esclave de la faculté pure de voir, esclave de mes yeux irréels et vierges, ignorants du monde et d'eux-mêmes. Puissance tranquille. Je supprimai le visible et l'invisible, je me perdis dans un miroir sans tain."⁶⁰ The fantastic becomes the real, characterized, as Breton says, by its high degree of immediate absurdity.⁶¹ All idea of conscious creative activity disappears, and instead there is "l'action inconsciente, immédiate, de l'interne sur l'externe."⁶² Reason and intelligence are left behind:

*Ceux qui partent pour les nuages
Se séparent de leur raison
La mer ouverte à l'œil unique
Est leur taciturne horizon.*⁶³

56. Guillaume Apollinaire, *L'Esprit nouveau et les poètes* (Mercure de France, Dec. 1, 1918), Jacques Haumont, 1946, pp. 19-20, 24.

57. *Essai sur la situation de la poésie*. Quoted in Maurice Nadeau, *Histoire du surréalisme*, Editions du Seuil, 1945, p. 58.

58. *Manifeste du surréalisme*, nouvelle édition, Kra, 1929, pp. 13-14.

59. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

60. Paul Eluard, *Donner à voir*, Gallimard, 1939, p. 11.

61. *Manifeste du surréalisme*, p. 43. In a passage reminiscent of Rimbaud Eluard says: "J'ai pris l'habitude des images les plus inhabituelles. Je les ai vues où elles n'étaient pas. Je les ai mécanisées comme mes levers et mes couchers." ("Nuits partagées," *Paul Eluard*, éd. Louis Parrot, Seghers, 1945, p. 93.)

62. André Breton, *Les Vases communicants*. Quoted in Nadeau, *Histoire du surréalisme*, p. 335.

63. René Char, *Premières Alluvions*, Editions Fontaine, 1945, p. 22.

The logical conclusion is that the poets are merely "*appareils enregistreurs*," and Breton can give the formula for the "*Composition surréaliste écrite, ou premier et dernier jet*."⁶⁴ So we have the plunge into

*vent désir cave sonore d'insomnie tempête temple
la chute des eaux
et le saut brusque des voyelles*

of Tzara's "*Cinéma calendrier du cœur abstrait*,"⁶⁵ or the opening of Breton's "*Fata Morgana*,"

*Ce matin la fille de la montagne tient sur ses genoux un accordéon de chauves-souris blanches.*⁶⁶

Surrealism, denying the validity of a visible world through which the invisible world may be attained, suppressed the dualism and arrived at the conception of a reality in which subject and object, dream and so-called reality are fused. Imagination is for the surrealists the discovery of this reality: "*L'imagination consiste à expulser de la réalité plusieurs personnes incomplètes pour, mettant à contribution les puissances magiques et subversives du désir, obtenir leur retour sous la forme d'une présence entièrement satisfaisante. C'est alors l'inextinguible réel incréé.*"⁶⁷ Reality is directly accessible through the "*dérèglement de tous les sens*," through hallucinations, metamorphoses, dreams and all the latent powers of the subconscious. The revelation of the fundamental disorder of the universe is the function of poetry. In theory it is an experience open to everyone, a poetry not of one but of all, and in it lies all hope for the future. It suppresses completely the first and last steps of the creative imagination; it "*dissolves, diffuses, dissipates*," but not to "*re-create*." Poetry is not artistic creation, but metaphysical experience, and instead of the old "*arts poétiques*" we have such books as Rolland de Renéville's *L'Expérience poétique*. And, as Jacques Maritain says, the surrealists have not only confused poetry with metaphysics; they have confused it with morality and with sanctity.⁶⁸ Poetry thus conceived may well seem an infringement, not on divine prerogatives, as "*pure poetry*" is, but on human prerogatives; not only perception, memory and reason, but philosophy, theology and morality must abdicate in its favor.

As a matter of fact the extreme surrealist position proved very difficult to maintain, and even Breton has modified his position somewhat, and admitted the possibility of a limited amount of conscious activity in poetry.⁶⁹

64. *Manifeste du surréalisme*, pp. 49, 51.

65. *Petite Anthologie poétique du surréalisme*, introduction par Georges Hugnet, Editions Jeanne Bucher, 1934, p. 127.

66. "*L'Evidence surréaliste*," *Quatre Vents*, No. 4, 1946, p. 9.

67. René Char, *Seuls demeurent*. Quoted in *L'Arche*, No. 25 (1947), p. 40.

68. *Situation de la poésie*, p. 112.

69. "Que l'automatisme puisse entrer en composition, en peinture comme en poésie, avec certaines intentions préméditées: soit, mais on risque fort de sortir du surréalisme si l'automatisme cesse de cheminer au moins *sous roche*" ("*Genèse et perspective*

But it is particularly interesting to note these modifications in the case of the greatest poet who has emerged from the surrealist movement, Paul Eluard. The idea of immediacy does not disappear; *La Vie immédiate* is the title of one of his volumes, and he has been called "le poète de l'immédiateté." In his earlier writings imagination is opposed to reason: "On a beaucoup exagéré l'impuissance de l'imagination: ses trois cornes aiguës labourent aisément les glacis dérisoires de la raison rasée de près."⁷⁰ And again: "L'imagination n'a pas l'instinct d'imitation. Elle est la source et le torrent qu'on ne remonte pas. . . . Elle est l'univers sans association."⁷¹ But the visible world begins to come into its own: "Il n'y a pas loin, par l'oiseau, du nuage à l'homme, il n'y a pas loin, par les images, de l'homme à ce qu'il voit, de la nature des choses réelles à la nature des choses imaginées."⁷² Baudelaire had been led from the natural world to the supernatural one; Eluard is led from surreality to visible reality. And when it comes to the writing of poetry, here is a capital text:

Le même désir me reste d'établir les différences entre rêves, poèmes et textes automatiques.

On ne prend pas le récit d'un rêve pour un poème. Tous deux réalité vivante, mais le premier est souvenir, tout de suite usé, transformé, une aventure, et du deuxième rien ne se perd, ni ne change. Le poème désensibilise l'univers au seul profit des facultés humaines, permet à l'homme de voir autrement, d'autres choses. Son ancienne vision est morte, ou fausse. Il découvre un nouveau monde, il devient un nouvel homme.

On a pu penser que l'écriture automatique rendait les poèmes inutiles. Non: elle augmente, développe seulement le champ de l'examen de la conscience poétique, en l'enrichissant.⁷³

There is no longer the complete submission to the dream and to the subconscious of the extreme surrealists. The world of the senses is "désensibilisé" but its elements exist in the new world of surreality.

It is such a world that we find in Eluard's poetry; a world freed from the limitations of time and space,

*Le monde est si léger
Qu'il n'est plus à sa place,*⁷⁴

yet a world which is coherent, conceivable:

*Le visage du cœur a perdu ses couleurs
Et le soleil nous cherche et la neige est aveugle.*

artistiques du surréalisme" [1941], *Le Surréalisme et la peinture*, New York, Brentano's, 1945, p. 93).

70. *Donner à voir*, p. 59.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

72. *Ibid.*, p. 97.

73. *Ibid.*, p. 147.

74. *Capitale de la douleur*, Gallimard, 1926, p. 79.

*Si nous l'abandonnons, l'horizon a des ailes
Et nos regards au loin dissipent les erreurs.*⁷⁵

The imagination has begun to recover its basic material and its constructive rights.

More than one contemporary poet has rediscovered the visible world through the poetic world, finding it less substantial, more readily dissolved than it had been for Baudelaire, but no longer denying it. And the poet is no longer the slave of the poetic experience, fundamental as that experience is. Supervielle, describing his own making of poetry, says:

Le chant intérieur s'élève, il choisit les mots qui lui conviennent. Et j'assiste à tout cela en intervenant le moins possible. . . . Après quoi je sais un peu mieux où j'en suis de moi-même, j'ai créé de dangereuses puissances et je les ai exorcisées, j'en ai fait les alliées de ma raison la plus intérieure.⁷⁶

Pierre Reverdy, who had earlier sought detachment from the world of the senses, now says that "la poésie est uniquement une opération de l'esprit du poète exprimant les accords de son être sensible au contact de la réalité."⁷⁷ The idea is strikingly close to that of a sentence of Baudelaire which I have already quoted (note 12): "Le monde naturel pénètre dans le spirituel, lui sert de pâture, et concourt ainsi à opérer cet amalgame indéfinissable que nous nommons notre individualité."

One poet, at least, of our time has from his earliest writings maintained the fundamental conception of the creative imagination: Claudel. In his *Art poétique*, published in 1907, we find the idea of a visible reality which is the image of an invisible one: "il est au ciel un mouvement pur dont le détail terrestre est la transcription innombrable."⁷⁸ Nature is again a "magasin d'images" at the disposal of the poet:

Nous avons sous la main une petite création dont nous disposons à notre volonté comme un enfant des animaux de son arche. Nous pouvons en manœuvrer les pièces comme nous l'entendons, les rapprocher ou les disperser à notre plaisir, les recenser et les répartir, imaginer telle ou telle combinaison qui nous convient, arranger des gammes et des bouquets.⁷⁹

The whole passage represents the antithesis of the surrealist doctrine: "L'être vivant a à pourvoir à sa tâche. Il est responsable et spontané. Ce n'est point une impulsion qu'ayant reçue il a, passif, à transmettre. Il a à élaborer son acte, à fabriquer ce qui est requis, il a à connaître ce qu'il fait; et ce qu'il fait, c'est lui-même à l'état de puissance ou d'application."⁸⁰ Here is the creative imagination, though the word itself, which has a some-

75. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

76. "Tableau de la poésie française," *Nouvelle Revue Française*, XLI (1933), 670.

77. "Circonstances de la poésie," *L'Arche*, No. 21 (1946), p. 6.

78. *Art poétique*, Mercure de France, 1929, p. 33.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-136.

80. *Ibid.*, p. 152.

what more limited sense for Claudel,⁸¹ is not used. So he will conclude:

*Ainsi un poème n'est point comme un sac de mots, il n'est point seulement
Ces choses qu'il signifie, mais il est lui-même un signe, un acte imaginaire, créant
Le temps nécessaire à sa résolution,
A l'imitation de l'action humaine étudiée dans ses ressorts et dans ses poids.*⁸²

Claudel's poetry is marked by its wealth of concrete images, and the discovery of the supernatural through those images. The concordance between his religious faith and his conception of the poetic imagination is noteworthy:

*O credo entier des choses visibles et invisibles, je vous accepte avec un cœur catholique!*⁸³

Both are rooted in the belief that "the invisible things . . . are clearly seen, being understood by the things that are made." Claudel's discoveries, indeed, often seem less personal than traditional; the poet rediscovering Christian symbolism rather than finding his own correspondences. As for the final step of the imagination, one cannot but wonder sometimes just how far this often prolific and diffuse poetry has been subjected to "l'intelligence . . . qui regarde, évalue, demande, conseille, réprime, stimule, sépare, condamne, rassemble, répartit et répand partout l'ordre, la lumière et la proportion."⁸⁴ In Valéry, as I have noted, the rôle of poetic experience seems to be greater in the practice than in the theory; in Claudel the critical intelligence often seems to have less place in the practice than in the theory. But in theory, certainly, Claudel has come closer to the Baudelairean conception of the imagination than any other poet of our time.

In this sketch of the history of the creative imagination since Baudelaire, I have noted the less frequent use and more limited significance of the word imagination. At the same time there is a disintegration of the Baudelairean synthesis, and a dissociation of its elements. The poets lost their faith in the reality perceived by the senses, and it disappeared more and more from their poetry. This absence of everyday reality, I might add, seems to me one of the major reasons for the obscurity of much modern poetry. The reader, instead of being led from the familiar to the strange, is plunged immediately into a world alien to his experience, in which concrete reality is either eliminated to the utmost possible degree, or else dissolved into a reality in which subject and object are one. In either case there is a split at the very point at which Baudelaire had maintained a compromise between the intuitive poetic experience and the conscious creative activity. We have a poetry which, instead of being a creation by the imagination out of concrete

81. "L'œuvre d'art est le résultat de la collaboration de l'imagination avec le désir" ("Sur l'inspiration poétique," *Positions et propositions*, Gallimard, I [1928], 94).

82. "Les Muses," *Cinq Grandes Odes*, Gallimard, 1936, pp. 25-26.

83. "L'Esprit et l'eau," *Cinq Grandes Odes*, p. 57.

84. *Positions et propositions*, I, 96.

reality and poetic experience, tends towards either creation without experience, or experience without creation. Imagination is no longer a key word; discussion centers around the word poetry. And poetry is no longer the final achievement of the creative imagination; it is an experience more and more detached from concrete reality, and that experience, whether it be Mallarmé's venture into the Absolute, or the surrealists' explorations of the subconscious regions, is an end in itself. From a province of art, a work of the imagination, poetry became an immediate experience, an all-embracing activity, to which imagination was but a humble purveyor of images.

Superb as the claims of the creative imagination in its own domain had been, it had made no pretense of replacing metaphysics, morals or religion. The silence of Rimbaud, the frustration of Mallarmé, the suicides among the surrealists, suggest the impasse to which such pretensions may lead. Poets who have been more or less deeply touched by Christianity, and many of the returned explorers from surreality as well, have begun to bring poetry back from the Absolute to the world of the senses, to see in it an expression of life rather than a way of life, and so to return in some degree towards the idea of the creative imagination. But I am far from suggesting that the wheel has come full circle. For many contemporary poets too much conscious activity, too much ordering of experience, is still suspect, and is often allied to the idea of the imagination. Henri Michaux, for example, says: "Rien de l'imagination volontaire des professionnels. Ni thèmes, ni développements, ni construction, ni méthodes. Au contraire, la seule imagination de l'impuissance à se conformer."⁸⁵ And even a poet who owes as much to Baudelaire as Pierre Jean Jouve can write:

Les proportions entre conscience et mémoire, entre inspiration et volonté, ont radicalement changé. Nous ne pouvons plus nous satisfaire—théoriquement—des points de vue de Poe sur la lucidité à froid, ni des conceptions de l'imagination selon Baudelaire et Delacroix, qui étaient pourtant des précurseurs. Nous admettons des origines plus redoutables, plus indicibles aussi, avec un rapport différent entre ce qui est libre et ce qui est déterminé. Mais surtout la matière de la Poésie s'est transformée. Un afflux de substance est arrivé, de nouveaux registres ont apparus; le possible a été augmenté brusquement, après Rimbaud et Lautréamont, ce qui impliquait de nouveaux devoirs pour l'esprit créateur chargé de conduire.⁸⁶

The passage seems to me to define admirably the imagination of many poets of today; an imagination less rooted in concrete reality, more wary of conscious creation, than the Baudelairean imagination, and absorbed in the vastness and mystery of the immediate poetic experience. Whether its fruits are comparable to those of the Baudelairean imagination, it is too

85. Henri Michaux, Post-face à "Mes Propriétés," quoted in Julien Benda, *La France byzantine*, Gallimard, 1945, p. 95.

86. "Apologie du poète," *L'Arche*, No. 26 (1947), pp. 11-12.

soon to tell, and I am, I suspect, too convinced and impenitent a Baudelairean to judge, and I will leave the question to my readers—and to posterity.

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MARCEL PROUST AS A MORALISTE

PROUST is NOT generally considered pithy. The vast dimensions of his work with its unbelievable abundance of detail remind one of a Gothic cathedral which reveals its architectural principle and interrelation of pattern only to long frequentation and study. Upon a first reading, *A la recherche du temps perdu* leaves an impression of enchantment and confusion. But amidst the wealth of apparently disordered elements and through the often tortuous syntax the reader grasps here and there a key to the understanding of the whole. Sometimes he merely senses a relationship, glimpses a theme, momentarily fingers and then loses a tenuous thread leading through the labyrinth.

Such an impression, resulting inevitably from the novelty of his material, is doubtless the one Marcel Proust intended to make at first. In composing his masterpiece he was himself working his way through the maze of his own life. After an idle and frivolous youth spent in the most exclusive society of Paris, during which time he wrote some charming light prose and verse and waited for the inspiration of a great subject, a chronic asthma providentially made him withdraw from the world. Shortly before that turning-point, he had heard his vocation, and it may have been in answer to that call as much as in the interest of his health that he cloistered himself.

The voice that eventually called Proust away from the *salons* first sounded during his childhood in Combray. As he grew older it became more insistent. Everyone is familiar, for instance, with the incident of the little *madeleine* dipped in tea and the manner in which it automatically called back most vividly the dim past. After a series of such experiences, Proust formulated a theory. What was already known to psychologists as the affective memory, Proust discovered independently and called the involuntary memory. Upon noticing that his most vivid esthetic impressions always came to him immediately after such experiences, he decided, as he tells us in his last volume, to make his great literary work turn upon such renewals of the past with their power of canceling the effects of time.

Proust's whole work, then, is an impressionistic evocation of a life and of an epoch. Less *Remembrance of Things Past* (as the English title stands) than a recapturing of his lost youth in its essence, the work rests solidly upon a metaphor which miraculously suppresses the present and substitutes the past for it.

As a consequence his work is thoroughly subjective and highly intuitive. The reason, powerless to reconstruct the past, abdicates before the irrational flood of impressions surging up from the subconscious. From those impressions, free of the contingencies of time and unfettered by stultifying

habit, Proust learns the truth about himself and about the world that surrounds him.

This is of capital importance since Marcel Proust's chief preoccupation is to seize and reproduce the truth. The earliest invitations to write, which he experienced in childhood, invariably came to him as a desire to isolate the essence of things hidden behind their physical appearance. As an example of such impulses he has recorded for us the few pages he wrote as a boy about the bell-towers of Martinville, wherein a series of Proustian metaphors fixes the fleeting impression forever, as surely as if he had set it down in the oils of his beloved Monet. But the essential truths perceived by the senses in an associative flash and later developed by the intellect, like a photographic negative in a dark-room, are not the only ones to interest Proust.

Quant aux vérités que l'intelligence—même des plus hauts esprits—cueille à claire-voie, devant elle, en pleine lumière, leur valeur peut être très grande; mais elles ont des contours plus secs et sont planes, n'ont pas de profondeur parce qu'il n'y a pas eu de profondeurs à franchir pour les atteindre, parce qu'elles n'ont pas été recréées. . .

Je sentais pourtant que ces vérités que l'intelligence dégage directement de la réalité ne sont pas à dédaigner entièrement car elles pourraient enchasser d'une matière moins pure mais encore pénétrer d'esprit ces impressions que nous apportent hors du temps l'essence commune aux sensations du passé et du présent, mais qui plus précieuses sont aussi trop rares pour que l'œuvre d'art puisse être composée seulement avec elles. Capables d'être utilisées pour cela, je sentais se presser en moi une foule de vérités relatives aux passions, aux caractères, aux mœurs.¹

If one were to glean most carefully the 4116 pages of *A la recherche du temps perdu* in order to gather together this swarm of truths, one could make up a little volume of no fewer than over four hundred reflections. Together they would represent Proust's purely intellectual discoveries about man and the world. Though they may not have been drawn painfully from his inner depths, they are nonetheless the fruit of an observant and reflective life. Even if they are two-dimensional by contrast with the subconscious truths that he sets upon a higher plane, they do have the inestimable advantage, from the reader's point of view, of possessing sharper outlines.

Together, these reflexions would form a corpus which it is not gran-

1. *TR*, II, 52-53. References are to the ordinary French edition in sixteen volumes published in Paris by Gallimard. The usual abbreviations are used as follows:

<i>S</i>	<i>Du côté de chez Swann</i>
<i>JF</i>	<i>À l'ombre des jeunes filles en fleurs</i>
<i>G</i>	<i>Le Côté de Guermantes</i>
<i>SG</i>	<i>Sodome et Gomorrhe</i>
<i>P</i>	<i>La Prisonnière</i>
<i>AD</i>	<i>Albertine disparue</i>
<i>TR</i>	<i>Le Temps retrouvé</i>

diloquent to consider as the statement of Marcel Proust's philosophy. But whether they be read as a series of individual maxims or as a coherent view of life, they present their author in a quite new light. Here Proust is witty, sly, cynical, profound, poetic by turns—and almost always pithy. Though the syntax is often peculiarly Proustian even when he states his thought most succinctly, there is no obscurity in his maxims.

Indeed, no matter how original his thought may be, Marcel Proust would thus appear once again in such extracts as the renovator of an ancient French tradition. He has often been called a classic and likened to those masters of the age of Louis XIV whom he so greatly admired—to Racine for his purity and psychological penetration, to Saint-Simon and Mme de Sévigné as a memorialist of society, to La Bruyère for his clear-eyed view of man's foibles. But in this case he joins La Rochefoucauld, the misanthropic Duke, whose little collection of three hundred and seventeen *Maximes* first appeared in 1665 and contributed as much as any other work, in the opinion of Voltaire, to forming French taste since "il accoutuma à penser et à renfermer des pensées dans un tour vif, précis, délicat."²

The French have always possessed this gift. Before La Rochefoucauld, to name only the greatest, Montaigne and Pascal knew the value of epigrammatic expression. Even earlier, the rich Middle Ages had abounded in didactic works and seen many collections of pungent proverbs, the maxims of the poor. Since La Rochefoucauld, France has produced Vauvenargues, Voltaire, and Joubert. Some time in the early nineteenth century the traditional maxim went underground, taking refuge like so many other forms in the novel. Balzac punctuated his novels with rather heavy aphorisms in which the wit is often stifled by the sententious tone. Stendhal, who even made a collection of random thoughts, likewise enjoyed pointing out in his novels the general application of the particular case in such maxims as:

Le malheur diminue l'esprit.³

Les Russes copient les mœurs françaises, mais toujours à cinquante ans de distance.⁴

Mais à Paris, l'amour est fils des romans.⁵

But the consummate *moraliste*, as the French call one who concerns himself with the study of manners and morals, remains, to the world at large as well as to his countrymen, François de La Rochefoucauld. He epitomizes the art of epitomizing. Now, the name of Marcel Proust has already been linked with that of La Rochefoucauld by no less an authority than Aldous Huxley when he wrote in *Along the Road*:

In a sentence La Rochefoucauld compresses as much material as would serve a novelist for a long story. Conversely, it would not surprise me to learn that

2. *Siècle de Louis XIV*, ch. 32.

3. *Le Rouge et le noir*, éd. Garnier, p. 366.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 395.

5. *Ibid.*, p. 37.

many novelists turn to the *Maximes* for suggestions for plots and characters. It is impossible, for example, to read Proust without being reminded of the *Maximes*, or the *Maximes* without being reminded of Proust. 'Le plaisir de l'amour est d'aimer, et l'on est plus heureux par la passion que l'on a que par celle que l'on donne.' 'Il y a des gens si remplis d'eux-mêmes, que, lorsqu'ils sont amoureux, ils trouvent moyen d'être occupés de leur passion sans l'être de la personne qu'ils aiment.' What are all the love stories in *A la recherche du Temps perdu* but enormous amplifications of these aphorisms? Proust is La Rochefoucauld magnified ten thousand times.⁶

This remark is certainly true, but is it not extraordinary that so perspicacious a reader should have failed to notice that Proust also rivals La Rochefoucauld in his own *genre*? If the two seventeenth-century maxims quoted by Mr. Huxley seem to sum up much of Proust, how much more so do two of Proust's own maxims: "L'être aimé est successivement le mal et le remède qui suspend et aggrave le mal"⁷ and "A l'être que nous avons le plus aimé nous ne sommes pas si fidèles qu'à nous-même, et nous l'oublions tôt ou tard pour pouvoir—puisque c'est un des traits de nous-même—recommencer d'aimer?"⁸ Marcel Proust did not have to borrow his texts, and it is noteworthy that the only La Rochefoucauld he mentions in his work is a friend and contemporary, a remote descendant of the famous cynic.

In the passage already quoted Proust speaks of "a swarm of truths relating to passions, to characters, and to manners." These are the classic subjects; La Rochefoucauld and La Bruyère could be summed up in those words. And when, after isolating them all individually, one attempts to classify Proust's maxims, one finds that they fall into five categories:

Man
Society
Love
Art
Time and Memory

The first three categories concern characters, manners and passions. The last two correspond to Proust's chief technical problems; since he held such special conceptions of Art and of Time, it is not surprising that he should have some pointed truths to impart on those subjects. But the greatest number of his aphorisms quite naturally concern man and his ways. It is here that he challenges comparison with his great predecessors. When he states: "Malheureusement notre complaisante obstination à ne pas voir le défaut de notre ami est surpassé par celle qu'il met à s'y adonner,"⁹ he seems to share the disillusioned viewpoint of La Rochefoucauld who found the key to life in self-love. But Proust attenuates this attitude in a later

6. *Along the Road*, New York, 1925, pp. 72-75.

7. *SG*, II, 2, 60-61.

8. *TR*, II, 66.

9. *JF*, II, 196.

volume when he writes: "Certaines qualités aident plutôt à supporter les défauts du prochain qu'elles ne contribuent à en faire souffrir; et un homme de grand talent prêterait d'habitude moins d'attention à la sottise d'autrui que ne ferait un sot."¹⁰

La Rochefoucauld yields parallels to a remark such as: "Les charmes de la passante sont généralement en relation directe avec la rapidité du passage;"¹¹ but, despite the lesson of Descartes, one will not find in La Rochefoucauld a match for this simple and profound statement: "Peut-être l'immobilité des choses autour de nous leur est-elle imposée par notre certitude que ce sont elles et non pas d'autres, par l'immobilité de notre pensée en face d'elles."¹²

La Rochefoucauld explains most of life by reference to vanity and self-interest; while giving their due to such motives, Proust is neither so specific nor so bitter. Probably the keynote of all his thoughts is the word "subjective": our observations, our loves, our jealousies, our art, even our awareness of the passage of time are subjective, but this in no way invalidates them. La Rochefoucauld might well have written this: "Quand on aime, l'amour est trop grand pour pouvoir être contenu tout entier en nous; il irradie vers la personne aimée, rencontre en elle une surface qui l'arrête, le force à revenir vers son point de départ et c'est ce choc en retour de notre propre tendresse que nous appelons les sentiments de l'autre."¹³ But he would have been incapable of this other maxim which should be juxtaposed with the preceding one in our collection: "Sans doute peu de personnes comprennent le caractère purement subjectif du phénomène qu'est l'amour, et la sorte de création que c'est d'une personne supplémentaire, distincte de celle qui porte le même nom dans le monde, et dont la plupart des éléments sont tirés de nous-mêmes."¹⁴ Proust catalogues our illusions, yet without deploring them. In fact he even encourages them. This is because he is a poet. Early in his work he observes: "On cherche à retrouver dans les choses, devenues par là précieuses, le reflet que notre âme a projeté sur elles, on est déçu en constatant qu'elles semblent dépourvues dans la nature du charme qu'elles devaient, dans notre pensée, au voisinage de certaines idées."¹⁵ The antidote for such a disappointment, however, is to continue to contemplate the inner vision.

All the literary types that we are accustomed to find in aphorisms would be represented in this hypothetical collection. The epigrams are, of course, the most striking and most memorable. Here is a sampling:

Chacun appelle idées claires celles qui sont au même degré de confusion que les siennes propres.¹⁶

10. *SG*, II, i, 82.

11. *JF*, II, 155-156.

12. *S*, I, 15.

13. *JF*, II, 15.

14. *Ibid.*, I, 58.

15. *S*, I, 128.

16. *JF*, I, 172.

Les mots ne changent pas tant de signification pendant des siècles que pour nous les noms dans l'espace de quelques années.¹⁷

Peut-être, alors que les uns nous paraissent le résultat d'une délibération, les autres d'une imprudence dans notre hygiène, tenons-nous de notre famille, comme les papillonacées la forme de leur graine, aussi bien les idées dont nous vivons que la maladie dont nous mourrons.¹⁸

Quand on se voit au bord de l'abîme et qu'il semble que Dieu vous ait abandonné on n'hésite plus à attendre de lui un miracle.¹⁹

On ne fait la somme des vices d'un être que quand il n'est plus guère en état de les exercer.²⁰

Notre personnalité sociale est une création de la pensée des autres.²¹

De relations qui ne sont pas consacrées par les lois découlent des liens de parenté aussi multiples, aussi complexes, plus solides seulement, que ceux qui naissent du mariage.²²

C'est parce qu'ils impliquent le sacrifice d'une situation plus ou moins flatteuse à une douceur purement intime, que généralement les mariages infamants sont les plus estimables de tous.²³

Ce sont nos passions qui esquissent nos livres, le repos d'intervalle qui les écrit.²⁴

C'est avec des adolescents qui durent un assez grand nombre d'années que la vie fait ses vieillards.²⁵

But the reflexions or *pensées*, which often develop a more subtle thought at greater length and without the same witty turn in the expression, are almost as numerous. For example:

Nous disons bien que l'heure de la mort est incertaine, mais quand nous disons cela, nous nous représentons cette heure comme située dans un espace vague et lointain, nous ne pensons pas qu'elle ait un rapport quelconque avec la journée déjà commencée et puisse signifier que la mort pourra se produire dans cet après-midi même, si peu incertain, cet après-midi où l'emploi de toutes les heures est réglé d'avance.²⁶

Le style pour l'écrivain aussi bien que pour le peintre est une question non de technique, mais de vision. Il est la révélation, qui serait impossible par des moyens directs et conscients, de la différence qualitative qu'il y a entre la façon dont nous apparaît le monde, différence qui s'il n'y avait pas l'art, resterait le secret éternel de chacun.²⁷

The portrait, in which Proust swiftly characterizes human types in a man-

17. *G*, II, 196.

18. *JF*, III, 175.

19. *AD*, I, 31-32.

20. *G*, I, 177.

21. *S*, I, 33.

22. *P*, II, 81.

23. *JF*, I, 60.

24. *TR*, II, 65.

25. *Ibid.*, II, 96.

26. *G*, II, 8.

27. *TR*, II, 48.

ner reminiscent of La Bruyère's *Caractères*, can be seen in such reflexions as the following:

Il y a des cynismes, des cruautés qui ne résistent pas plus à l'épreuve que certaines bontés, certaines générosités. De même qu'on découvre souvent un avare vaniteux dans un homme connu pour ses charités, sa forfanterie de vice nous fait supposer une Messaline dans une honnête fille pleine de préjugés.²⁸

Une grande partie des plaisirs qu'une femme trouve à pénétrer dans un milieu différent de celui où elle vivait autrefois lui manquerait si elle ne pouvait informer ses anciennes relations de celles, relativement plus brillantes par lesquelles elle les a remplacées. Pour cela il faut un témoin qu'on laisse pénétrer dans ce monde nouveau et délicieux, comme dans une fleur un insecte bourdonnant et volage, qui ensuite, au hasard de ses visites répandra, on l'espère du moins, la nouvelle, le germe dérobé d'envie et d'admiration.²⁹

De même que ce n'est pas à un autre homme intelligent qu'un homme intelligent aura peur de paraître bête, ce n'est pas par un grand seigneur, c'est par un rustre qu'un homme élégant craindra de voir son élégance méconnue. Les trois quarts des frais d'esprit et des mensonges de vanité qui ont été prodigués depuis que le monde existe par des gens qu'ils ne faisaient que diminuer, l'ont été pour des inférieurs.³⁰

Pour bien des jeunes gens du monde, lesquels sans cela resteraient incultes d'esprit, rudes dans leurs amitiés, sans douceur et sans goût,—c'est bien souvent leur maîtresse qui est leur vrai maître et les liaisons de ce genre la seule école morale où ils soient initiés à une culture supérieure, où ils apprennent le prix des connaissances désintéressées.³¹

Of course Marcel Proust never composed any collection of aphorisms. But it would be easy for a diligent collector to make a volume of maxims culled from the sixteen volumes of the French edition of *A la recherche du temps perdu*, where they appear on an average of about one to every nine or ten pages. Actually there is sometimes a run of aphorisms appearing on three, four, or five consecutive pages and followed by twenty or forty pages before another stands out. Proust's love of generalizing has never been hampered by his material, for the maxims occur as readily in the midst of descriptive or narrative passages as they do in the more reflective sections of the work. In this way, either consciously or unconsciously, Proust has truly infused what he calls intelligence into every part of his writing. It is certainly due to the habit of mind from which these maxims spring that Proust's work justly has a reputation for universality.

The fact that *A la recherche du temps perdu* is rich in aphoristic wisdom risks escaping most readers. To isolate and group together those detachable sentences is to perform the service of presenting a great modern writer in a new light. "To polish commonplaces and give them a new lustre," wrote Logan Pearsall Smith in the introduction to his *Treasury of English*

28. *JF*, III, 244:

29. *Ibid.*, I, 123.

30. *S*, I, 276.

31. *JF*, III, 25.

Aphorisms; "to express in a few words the obvious principles of conduct, and to give to clear thoughts an even clearer expression; to illuminate dimmer impressions and bring their faint rays to a focus; to delve beneath the surface of consciousness to new veins of precious ore, to name and discover and bring to light latent and unnamed experience; and finally to embody the central truths of life in the breadth and terseness of memorable phrases—all these are the opportunities of the aphorist; and to take advantage of these opportunities, he must be a thinker, an accurate observer, a profound moralist, a psychologist, and an artist as well." Marcel Proust was all of these; and to deny him the additional title of aphorist would be petty indeed.

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"LES MAXIMES ET RÉFLEXIONS" OF MARCEL PROUST

If a collection of Proust's reflections were made to stand beside the formal works of La Rochefoucauld and Vauvenargues, it would contain altogether between four and five hundred separate items, of which the following are representative. Some of the "maxims" called for a scalpel to disengage them from their context since they came in parenthetically in the middle of a long sentence or, on the other hand, were themselves broken by an illustrative parenthetical remark. Others required simply the removal of an initial adverb or conjunction. By far the great majority needed no change at all. No addition has ever been made to the text.

The following samples are grouped according to the five categories already suggested: *De l'homme*, *Du monde*, *De l'amour*, *De l'art*, *Du temps et de la mémoire*.

"DE L'HOMME"

C'est la vie qui peu à peu, cas par cas, nous permet de remarquer que ce qui est le plus important pour notre cœur, ou pour notre esprit, ne nous est pas appris par le raisonnement mais par des puissances autres. Et alors, c'est l'intelligence elle-même qui, se rendant compte de leur supériorité, abdique par raisonnement devant elles et accepte de devenir leur collaboratrice et leur servante. (*AD*, I, 14)

*

L'incertitude morale est une cause plus grande de difficulté à une exacte perception visuelle que ne serait un défaut de l'œil. (*P*, I, 190)

*

On entend rétrospectivement quand on a compris. (*P*, II 187)

*

Il y a une chose plus difficile encore que de s'astreindre à un régime, c'est de ne pas l'imposer aux autres. (*SG*, II, iii, 191)

*

Il y a presque toujours, attachée à l'idée d'un entretien qui pourrait éclaircir un malentendu, une autre idée qui, pour quelque raison que ce soit, nous empêche de nous prêter à cet entretien. (*P*, II, 156)

*

Chaque fois que nous avons parlé de nous nous pouvons être sûrs que nos inoffensives et prudentes paroles, écoutées avec une politesse apparente et une hypocrite approbation, ont donné lieu aux commentaires les plus exaspérés ou les plus joyeux, en tout cas les moins favorables. (*JF*, II, 196)

*

A la mauvaise habitude de parler de soi et de ses défauts il faut ajouter, comme faisant bloc avec elle, cette autre de dénoncer chez les autres des défauts précisément analogues à ceux qu'on a. Or c'est toujours de ces défauts-là qu'on parle, comme si c'était une manière de parler de soi, détournée, et qui joint au plaisir de s'absoudre celui d'avouer. (*JF*, II, 197)

*

Nous sommes attirés par toute vie qui nous représente quelque chose d'inconnu, par une dernière illusion à détruire. (*G*, II, 226)

*

Certains rôles favoris sont par nous joués tant de fois devant le monde, et ressassés en nous-mêmes, que nous nous référons plus aisément à leur témoignage fictif qu'à celui d'une réalité presque complètement oubliée. (*JF*, I, 232)

*

La pauvreté, plus généreuse que l'opulence, donne aux femmes, bien plus que la toilette qu'elles ne peuvent pas acheter, le désir de cette toilette qui en est la connaissance véritable, détaillée, approfondie. (*P*, I, 83)

*

A partir d'un certain âge, plus on devient soi, plus les traits familiaux s'accroissent. (*SG*, II, ii, 100)

*

Que quelqu'un ait le même nom que vous, sans être de votre famille, est une grande raison de le dédaigner. (*G*, II, 56)

*

Si les yeux sont quelquefois l'organe où se révèle l'intelligence, le nez (quelle que soit d'ailleurs l'intime solidarité et la répercussion insoupçonnée des traits les uns sur les autres) le nez est généralement l'organe où s'étale le plus aisément la bêtise. (*SG*, II, ii, 169)

*

On ne supporte pas toujours bien les larmes qu'on fait verser. (*P*, II, 146)

*

Au bout du même temps où un malade atteint du cancer sera mort, il est bien rare qu'un veuf, un père inconsolables ne soient pas guéris. (*AD*, II, 140)

*

La maladie est le plus écouté des médecins: à la bonté, au savoir on ne fait que promettre; on obéit à la souffrance. (*SG*, II, i, 160)

*

Il n'est pas d'exil au pôle Sud ou au sommet du mont Blanc qui nous éloigne autant des autres qu'un séjour prolongé au sein d'un vice intérieur. (*P*, II, 12)

*

L'affectation des sentiments louables n'est pas la seule couverture des mauvais, mais une plus nouvelle est l'exhibition de ces mauvais de sorte qu'on n'ait pas l'air de s'en cacher. (*TR*, I, 64)

*

Chez les personnes dites immorales les indignations morales sont tout aussi fortes que chez les autres et changent seulement un peu d'objet. (*AD*, II, 189)

*

Les traits de notre visage ne sont guère que des gestes devenus, par l'habitude, définitifs. La nature, comme la catastrophe de Pompeï, comme une métamorphose de nymphe, nous a immobilisé dans le mouvement accoutumé. De même nos intonations contiennent notre philosophie de la vie, ce que la personne se dit à tout moment sur les choses. (*JF*, III, 198)

*

L'habitude abêtissante pendant tout le cours de notre vie nous cache à peu près tout l'univers, et dans une nuit profonde, sous leur étiquette inchangée, substitue aux poisons les plus dangereux ou les plus enivrants de la vie quelque chose d'anodin qui ne procure pas de délices. (*AD*, I, 204)

*

On dédaigne volontiers un but qu'on n'a pas réussi à atteindre, ou qu'on a atteint définitivement. (*AD*, II, 180)

*

Ce n'est pas parce que les autres sont morts que notre affection pour eux s'affaiblit, c'est parce que nous mourons nous-mêmes. (*AD*, II, 67-68)

*

Ceux qui apprennent sur la vie d'un autre quelque détail exact en tirent aussitôt des conséquences qui ne le sont pas et voient dans le fait nouvellement découvert l'explication de choses qui précisément n'ont aucun rapport avec lui. (*P*, I, 10)

*

L'esprit est influençable comme la plante, comme la cellule, comme les éléments chimiques, et le milieu qui le modifie si on l'y plonge, ce sont les circonstances, un cadre nouveau. (*JF*, III, 161)

*

L'inexactitude, l'incompétence, ne diminue pas l'assurance, au contraire. (*JF*, III, 11)

*

Pendant qu'au moment où va se réaliser un voyage désiré, l'intelligence et la sensibilité commencent à se demander s'il vaut vraiment la peine d'être entrepris, la volonté qui sait que ces maîtres oisifs recommenceraient immédiatement à trouver merveilleux ce voyage, si celui-ci ne pouvait avoir lieu, la volonté les laisse disserter devant la gare, multiplier les hésitations; mais elle s'occupe de prendre les billets et de nous mettre en wagon pour l'heure du départ. (*JF*, III, 145-146)

*

C'est aux idées qui ne sont pas, à proprement parler, des idées, aux idées qui ne tenant à rien, ne trouvant aucun point d'appui, aucun rameau fraternel dans l'esprit de l'adversaire, que celui-ci, aux prises avec le pur vide, ne trouve rien à répondre. (*JF*, I, 187)

*

C'est inouï la rage des gens d'une religion à étudier celle des autres. (*G*, II, 233)

*

Les liens qui nous unissent à un être se trouvent sanctifiés quand il se place au même point de vue que nous pour juger une de nos tares. (*JF*, I, 58)

*

Nous travaillons à tout moment à donner sa forme à notre vie, mais en copiant malgré nous comme un dessin les traits de la personne que nous sommes et non de celle qu'il nous serait agréable d'être. (*G*, I, 168-169)

*

Plus encore que les êtres tout à fait opposés à nous, ceux qui nous ressemblent en moins bien, en qui s'étale ce que nous avons de moins bon, les défauts dont nous nous sommes guéris, nous inspirent une répulsion profonde, nous rappelant fâcheusement ce que nous avons pu paraître à certains avant que nous fussions devenus ce que nous sommes. (*SG*, II, ii, 114)

*

L'image que les autres se font de nos faits et gestes ne ressemble pas plus à celle que nous nous en faisons nous-mêmes qu'à un dessin quelque décalque raté où tantôt au trait noir correspondrait un espace vide et à un blanc, un contour inexplicable. Il peut du reste arriver que ce qui n'a pas été transcrit soit quelque trait irréel que nous ne voyons que par complai-

sance et que ce qui nous semble ajouté nous appartienne au contraire, mais si essentiellement que cela nous échappe. De sorte que cette étrange épreuve qui nous semble si peu ressemblante à quelquefois le genre de vérité, peu flatteur certes mais profond et utile, d'une photographie par les rayons X. Ce n'est pas une raison pour que nous nous y reconnaissons. (*G*, I, 244)

*

L'homme jouant perpétuellement entre les deux plans de l'expérience et de l'imagination voudrait approfondir la vie idéale des gens qu'il connaît et connaître les êtres dont il a eu à imaginer la vie. (*G*, I, 210)

*

Ceux qui non seulement parlent bien de certaines vertus, mais même en ressentent le charme et les comprennent à merveille, sont souvent issus mais ne font pas eux-mêmes partie de la génération muette, fruste et sans art, qui les pratiqua. Celle-ci se reflète en eux, mais ne s'y continue pas. A la place du caractère qu'elle avait, on trouve une sensibilité, une intelligence qui ne servent pas à l'action. (*G*, I, 166)

*

L'habitude de penser empêche parfois d'éprouver le réel, immunise contre lui, le fait paraître de la pensée encore. (*AD*, II, 76)

*

Quand disparaît une croyance, il lui survit—et de plus en plus vivace pour masquer le manque de la puissance que nous avons perdue de donner de la réalité à des choses nouvelles—un attachement fétichiste aux anciennes qu'elle avait animées, comme si c'était en elles et non en nous que le divin résidait et si notre incrédulité actuelle avait une cause contingente, la mort des Dieux. (*S*, II, 297-298)

*

Le désir est bien fort, il engendre la croyance. (*AD*, I, 153)

*

Comme la souffrance va plus loin en psychologie que la psychologie! (*AD*, I, 7)

*

Nous vouons toujours un sentiment de vénération à ceux qui exercent sans frein la puissance de nous faire du mal. (*S*, II, 288)

*

Nous ne connaissons vraiment que ce qui est nouveau, ce qui introduit brusquement dans notre sensibilité un changement de ton qui nous frappe, ce à quoi l'habitude n'a pas encore substitué ses pâles fac-similés. (*AD*, I, 181)

*

Notre moi est fait de la superposition de nos états successifs. Mais cette superposition n'est pas immuable comme la stratification d'une montagne.

Perpétuellement des soulèvements font affleurer à la surface des couches anciennes. (*AD*, I, 205)

*

Il en est de la vieillesse comme de la mort, quelques-uns les affrontent avec indifférence, non pas parce qu'ils ont plus de courage que les autres, mais parce qu'ils ont moins d'imagination. (*TR*, II, 98)

"DU MONDE"

Dans la vie de la plupart des femmes, tout, même le plus grand chagrin, aboutit à une question d'essayage. (*G*, II, 26)

*

Au fur et à mesure que l'on descend dans l'échelle sociale, le snobisme s'accroche à des riens qui ne sont peut-être pas plus nuls que les distinctions de l'aristocratie mais qui, plus obscurs, plus particuliers à chacun, surprennent davantage. (*JF*, III, 111)

*

En France on donne à toute chose plus ou moins britannique le nom qu'elle ne porte pas en Angleterre. (*G*, II, 154)

*

On oublie vite ce qu'on n'a pas pensé avec profondeur, ce qui vous a été dicté par l'imitation, par les passions environnantes. Elles changent et avec elles se modifie notre souvenir. Encore plus que les diplomates, les hommes politiques ne se souviennent pas du point de vue auquel ils se sont placés à un certain moment, et quelques-unes de leurs palinodies tiennent moins à un excès d'ambition qu'à un manque de mémoire. Quant aux gens du monde, ils se souviennent de peu de chose. (*P*, I, 50-51)

*

La pratique de la solitude en donne l'amour comme il arrive pour toute grande chose que nous avons crainte d'abord parce que nous la savions incompatible avec de plus petites auxquelles nous tenions et dont elle nous prive moins qu'elle nous en détache. Avant de la connaître, toute notre préoccupation est de savoir dans quelle mesure nous pourrions la concilier avec certains plaisirs qui cessent d'en être dès que nous l'avons connue. (*JF*, III, 89)

*

Les bons offices de l'entremetteuse font partie des devoirs d'une maîtresse de maison. (*G*, II, 62)

*

Nous croirons difficilement aux vices, comme nous ne croirons jamais au génie, d'une personne avec qui nous sommes encore allés la veille à l'Opéra. (*P*, II, 33)

*

Le snobisme est une maladie grave de l'âme, mais localisée et qui ne la gêne pas tout entière. (*P*, I, 16)

*

Il semble que dans la vie mondaine, reflet insignifiant de ce qui se passe en amour, la meilleure manière qu'on vous recherche, c'est de se refuser. (*P*, II, 228)

*

Etre grande dame c'est jouer à la grande dame, c'est-à-dire, pour une part, jouer la simplicité. C'est un jeu qui coûte extrêmement cher, d'autant plus que la simplicité ne ravit qu'à condition que les autres sachent que vous pourriez ne pas être simple. (*G*, I, 226)

*

Chaque classe sociale a sa pathologie. (*P*, I, 19)

*

Il n'y a pas besoin, pour expliquer les trois quarts des opinions qu'on porte sur les gens, d'aller jusqu'au dépit amoureux, jusqu'à l'exclusion du pouvoir politique. Le jugement reste incertain: une invitation refusée ou reçue le détermine. (*SG*, II, i, 45)

*

De quelqu'un qu'on admire de confiance, on recueille, on cite avec admiration, des choses très inférieures à celles que livré à son propre génie on refuserait avec sévérité, de même qu'un écrivain utilise dans un roman sous prétexte qu'ils sont vrais, des "mots," des personnages, qui dans l'ensemble vivant font au contraire poids mort. (*JF*, III, 8)

*

Ce qui nous attache aux êtres, ce sont ces mille racines, ces fils innombrables que sont les souvenirs de la soirée de la veille, les espérances de la matinée du lendemain, c'est cette trame continue d'habitudes dont nous ne pouvons pas nous dégager. (*P*, I, 131)

"DE L'AMOUR"

Une femme qu'on aime suffit rarement à tous nos besoins et on la trompe avec une femme qu'on n'aime pas. (*TR*, I, 17)

*

A force de se croire malade, on le devient, on maigrit, on n'a plus la force de se lever, on a des entérites nerveuses. A force de penser tendrement aux hommes on devient femme, et une robe postiche entrave vos pas. (*SG*, II, ii, 163)

*

Une certaine ressemblance existe entre les femmes que nous aimons successivement, ressemblance qui tient à la fixité de notre tempérament parce que c'est lui qui les choisit, éliminant toutes celles qui ne nous seraient pas

à la fois opposées et complémentaires, c'est-à-dire propres à satisfaire nos sens et à faire souffrir notre cœur. (*JF*, III, 178)

*

Un plan incliné rapproche assez vite le désir de la jouissance pour que la seule beauté apparaisse déjà comme un consentement. (*G*, I, 164)

*

On dit souvent qu'en dénonçant à un ami les fautes de sa maîtresse on ne réussit qu'à le rapprocher d'elle parce qu'il ne leur ajoute pas foi, mais combien davantage s'il leur ajoute foi? (*S*, II, 209)

*

S'il peut quelquefois suffire pour que nous aimions une femme qu'elle nous regarde avec mépris et que nous pensions qu'elle ne pourra jamais nous appartenir, quelquefois aussi il peut suffire qu'elle nous regarde avec bonté et que nous pensions qu'elle pourra nous appartenir. (*S*, I, 255)

*

Un homme a presque toujours la même manière de s'enrhumer, de tomber malade, c'est-à-dire qu'il lui faut pour cela un certain concours de circonstances; il est naturel que quand il devient amoureux ce soit à propos d'un certain genre de femmes, genre d'ailleurs très étendu. (*AD*, I, 138)

*

C'est la terrible tromperie de l'amour qu'il commence à nous faire jouer avec une femme non du monde extérieur, mais avec une poupée intérieure à notre cerveau, la seule d'ailleurs que nous ayons toujours à notre disposition, la seule que nous posséderons; création factice à laquelle peu à peu, pour notre souffrance, nous forcerons la femme réelle à ressembler. (*G*, II, 58)

*

Il arriverait, si nous savions mieux analyser nos amours, de voir que souvent les femmes ne nous plaisent qu'à cause du contrepoids d'hommes à qui nous avons à les disputer, bien que nous souffrions jusqu'à mourir d'avoir à les leur disputer; le contrepoids supprimé, le charme de la femme tombe. (*P*, II, 285)

*

En amour, notre rival heureux, autant dire notre ennemi, est notre bienfaiteur. A un être qui n'excitait en nous qu'un insignifiant désir physique il ajoute aussitôt une valeur immense, étrangère, mais que nous confondons avec lui. Si nous n'avions pas de rivaux le plaisir ne se transformerait pas en amour. (*TR*, II, 62-63)

*

Certes les charmes d'une personne sont une cause moins fréquente d'amour, qu'une phrase du genre de celle-ci: "Non, ce soir je ne serai pas libre." On ne fait guère attention à cette phrase si on est avec des amis; on

est gai toute la soirée, on ne s'occupe pas d'une certaine image; pendant ce temps-là elle baigne dans le mélange nécessaire; en rentrant on trouve le cliché qui est développé et parfaitement net. On s'aperçoit que la vie n'est plus la vie qu'on aurait quittée pour un rien la veille, parce que, si on continue à ne pas craindre la mort, on n'ose plus penser à la séparation. (SG, II, ii, 11-12)

*

On désire être compris, parce qu'on désire être aimé, et on désire être aimé parce qu'on aime. La compréhension des autres est indifférente et leur amour importun. (AD, I, 129)

*

L'adultère introduit l'esprit dans la lettre que bien souvent le mariage eût laissée morte. (P, II, 81)

*

Certes, il est plus raisonnable de sacrifier sa vie aux femmes qu'aux timbres-poste, aux vieilles tabatières, même aux tableaux et aux statues. Seulement l'exemple des autres collections devrait nous avertir de changer, de n'avoir pas une seule femme, mais beaucoup. (G, II, 41-42)

*

Une femme que nous entretenons ne nous semble pas une femme entretenue. (AD, I, 79)

*

La jalousie, qui prolonge l'amour, ne peut pas contenir beaucoup plus de choses que les autres formes de l'imagination. Quand on quitte une maîtresse, on voudrait bien, jusqu'à ce qu'on l'ait un peu oubliée, qu'elle ne devint pas la possession de trois ou quatre entreteneurs possibles et qu'on se figure, c'est-à-dire dont on est jaloux: tous ceux qu'on ne se figure pas ne sont rien. (G, II, 38-39)

*

Dans la souffrance physique au moins nous n'avons pas à choisir nous-mêmes notre douleur. La maladie la détermine et nous l'impose. Mais dans la jalousie il nous faut essayer en quelque sorte des souffrances de tout genre et de toute grandeur, avant de nous arrêter à celle qui nous paraît pouvoir convenir. (AD, I, 207)

"DE L'ART"

Chaque artiste semble comme le citoyen d'une patrie inconnue, oubliée de lui-même, différente de celle d'où viendra, appareillant pour la terre, un autre grand artiste. (P, II, 74)

*

Faute d'une société supportable, l'artiste vit souvent dans un isolement, avec une sauvagerie que les gens du monde appellent de la pose et de la mauvaise éducation, les pouvoirs publics un mauvais esprit, ses voisins de la folie, sa famille de l'égoïsme et de l'orgueil. (JF, III, 88)

*

Une œuvre où il y a des théories est comme un objet sur lequel on laisse la marque du prix. (*TR*, II, 29)

*

Les œuvres comme dans les puits artésiens montent d'autant plus haut que la souffrance a plus profondément creusé le cœur. (*TR*, II, 66)

*

Un livre est comme un grand cimetière où sur la plupart des tombes on ne peut plus lire les noms effacés. Parfois au contraire on se souvient très bien du nom mais sans savoir si quelque chose de l'être qui le porta survit dans ces pages. (*TR*, II, 59)

*

Chaque lecteur est quand il lit le propre lecteur de soi-même. L'ouvrage de l'écrivain n'est qu'une espèce d'instrument optique qu'il offre au lecteur afin de lui permettre de discerner ce que, sans ce livre, il n'eût peut-être pas vu en soi-même. (*TR*, II, 70)

*

Par l'art seulement, nous pouvons sortir de nous, savoir ce que voit un autre de cet univers qui n'est pas le même que le nôtre et dont les paysages nous seraient restés aussi inconnus que ceux qu'il peut y avoir dans la lune. Grâce à l'art au lieu de voir un seul monde, le nôtre, nous le voyons se multiplier et autant qu'il y a des artistes originaux, autant nous avons de mondes à notre disposition, plus différents les uns des autres que ceux qui roulent dans l'infini, et qui bien des siècles après qu'est éteint le foyer dont ils émanaient, qu'il s'appelât Rembrandt ou Ver Meer, nous envoient leur rayon spécial. (*TR*, II, 49)

*

Le public ne connaît du charme, de la grâce, des formes de la nature que ce qu'il en a puisé dans les poncifs d'un art lentement assimilé, et un artiste original commence par rejeter ces poncifs. (*S*, I, 306)

*

Nous sommes très longs à reconnaître dans la physionomie particulière d'un nouvel écrivain le modèle qui porte le nom de "grand talent" dans notre musée des idées générales. Nous disons plutôt originalité, charme, délicatesse, force; et puis un jour nous nous rendons compte que c'est justement tout cela le talent. (*S*, I, 145)

*

L'homme de génie pour s'épargner les méconnaissances de la foule se dit peut-être que les contemporains manquent du recul nécessaire, les œuvres écrites pour la postérité ne devraient être lues que par elle, comme certaines peintures qu'on juge mal de trop près. Mais en réalité toute lâche précaution pour éviter les faux arguments est inutile, ils ne sont pas évitables. Ce qui est cause qu'une œuvre de génie est difficilement admirée tout de suite, c'est que celui qui l'a écrite est extraordinaire, que peu de gens lui

ressemblent. C'est son œuvre elle-même qui, en fécondant les rares esprits capables de le comprendre les fera croître et multiplier. Ce sont les quatuors de Beethoven (les quatuors XII, XIII, XIV et XV) qui ont mis cinquante ans à faire naître, à grossir le public des quatuors de Beethoven, réalisant ainsi comme tous les chefs-d'œuvre un progrès sinon dans la valeur des artistes, du moins dans la société des esprits, largement composée aujourd'hui de ce qui était introuvable quand le chef-d'œuvre parut, c'est-à-dire d'êtres capables de l'aimer. Ce qu'on appelle la postérité, c'est la postérité de l'œuvre. (*JF*, I, 144-145)

Si Dieu le Père a créé les choses en les nommant, c'est en leur ôtant leur nom, ou en leur en donnant un autre que l'artiste les recrée. (*JF*, III, 98)

Tous les sentiments que nous font éprouver la joie ou l'infortune d'un personnage réel ne se produisent en nous que par l'intermédiaire d'une image de cette joie ou de cette infortune; l'ingéniosité du premier romancier consista à comprendre que dans l'appareil de nos émotions, l'image étant le seul élément essentiel, la simplification qui consisterait à supprimer purement et simplement les personnages réels serait un perfectionnement décisif. Un être réel, si profondément que nous sympathisions avec lui, pour une grande part est perçu par nos sens, c'est-à-dire nous reste opaque, offre un poids mort que notre sensibilité ne peut soulever. La trouvaille du romancier a été d'avoir l'idée de remplacer ces parties impenétrables à l'âme par une quantité égale de parties immatérielles, c'est-à-dire que notre âme peut s'assimiler. Qu'importe dès lors que les actions, les émotions de ces êtres d'un nouveau genre nous apparaissent comme vraies, puisque nous les avons faites nôtres, puisque c'est en nous qu'elles se produisent, qu'elles tiennent sous leur dépendance, tandis que nous tournons fiévreusement les pages du livre, la rapidité de notre respiration et l'intensité de notre regard. (*S*, I, 125-126)

En tout genre, notre temps a la manie de vouloir ne montrer les choses qu'avec ce qui les entoure dans la réalité, et par là de supprimer l'essentiel, l'acte de l'esprit, qui les isole d'elle. On "présente" un tableau au milieu de meubles, de bibelots, de tentures de la même époque, fade décor au milieu duquel le chef-d'œuvre qu'on regarde tout en dînant ne nous donne pas la même enivrante joie qu'on ne doit lui demander que dans une salle de musée, laquelle symbolise bien mieux par sa nudité et son dépouillement de toutes particularités les espaces intérieurs où l'artiste s'est abstrait pour créer. (*JF*, II, 62-63)

"DU TEMPS ET DE LA MÉMOIRE"

Théoriquement on sait que la terre tourne, mais en fait on ne s'en aper-

çoit pas, le sol sur lequel on marche semble ne pas bouger et on vit tranquille. Il en est ainsi du Temps dans la vie. (*JF*, I, 77)

*

Le temps dont nous disposons chaque jour est élastique; les passions que nous ressentons le dilatent, celles que nous inspirons le rétrécissent et l'habitude le remplit. (*JF*, II, 19)

*

Comme l'avenir est ce qui n'existe que dans notre pensée, il nous semble encore modifiable par l'intervention *in extremis* de notre volonté. (*AD*, I, 9)

*

Nous trouvons de tout dans notre mémoire; elle est une espèce de pharmacie, de laboratoire de chimie, où on met au hasard la main tantôt sur une drogue calmante tantôt sur un poison dangereux. (*P*, II, 256)

*

Ce qui nous rappelle le mieux un être, c'est justement ce que nous avons oublié (parce que c'était insignifiant et que nous lui avons laissé toute sa force). (*JF*, II, 60)

*

On appelle ancien régime ce dont on n'a pu connaître que la fin; c'est ainsi que ce que nous apercevons à l'horizon prend une grandeur mystérieuse et nous semble se refermer sur un monde qu'on ne reverra plus; cependant nous avançons et c'est bientôt nous-même qui sommes à l'horizon pour les générations qui sont derrière nous; cependant l'horizon recule, et le monde qui semblait fini recommence. (*TR*, II, 96-97)

*

En général plus le temps qui nous sépare de ce que nous nous proposons est court, plus il nous semble long, parce que nous lui appliquons des mesures plus brèves ou simplement parce que nous songeons à le mesurer. (*G*, II, 69)

*

Nous désirons passionnément qu'il y ait une autre vie où nous serions pareils à ce que nous sommes ici-bas. Mais nous ne réfléchissons pas, que même sans attendre cette autre vie, dans celle-ci, au bout de quelques années nous sommes infidèles à ce que nous avons été, à ce que nous voulions rester immortellement. On rêve beaucoup du paradis ou plutôt de nombreux paradis successifs mais ce sont tous, bien avant qu'on ne meure, des paradis perdus, et où l'on se sentirait perdu. (*SG*, II, ii, 95-96)

*

Il semble que les événements soient plus vastes que le moment où ils ont lieu et ne peuvent y tenir tout entiers. Certes ils débordent sur l'avenir par la mémoire que nous en gardons, mais ils demandent une place aussi au temps qui les précède. On peut dire que nous ne les voyons pas alors tels qu'ils seront, mais dans le souvenir ne sont-ils pas aussi modifiés? (*P*, II, 268)

*

Quand d'un passé ancien rien ne subsiste, après la mort des êtres, après la destruction des choses, seules, plus frêles mais plus vivaces, plus immatérielles, plus persistantes, plus fidèles, l'odeur et la saveur restent encore longtemps, comme des âmes, à se rappeler, à attendre, à espérer, sur la ruine de tout le reste, à porter sans fléchir, sur leur gouttelette presque impalpable, l'édifice immense du souvenir. (*S*, I, 73)

A partir d'un certain âge nos souvenirs sont tellement entrecroisés les uns avec les autres que la chose à laquelle on pense, le livre qu'on lit n'a presque plus d'importance. On a mis de soi-même partout, tout est fécond, tout est dangereux, et on peut faire d'aussi précieuses découvertes que dans les *Pensées* de Pascal dans une réclame pour un savon. (*AD*, I, 203)

Les images choisies par le souvenir sont aussi arbitraires, aussi étroites, aussi insaisissables, que celles que l'imagination avait formées, et la réalité détruites. Il n'y a pas de raison pour qu'en dehors de nous, un lieu réel possède plutôt les tableaux de la mémoire que ceux du rêve. (*SG*, II, i, 172)

REVIEWS

Textual Criticism and Jehan le Venelais. By Edward B. Ham. Ann Arbor, University of Michigan Press, 1946. Pp. 109.

Professor Ham, in laying the "harried ghost of Jehan le Nevelon," has, although his title hardly indicates it, re-edited *La Venjance Alixandre*.¹ By way of introduction, he treats in 18 pages the problem of textual criticism and his own editorial procedure, and adds 8 pages on the question of authorship.

I am in essential agreement with his position on textual criticism, namely that it is an editor's right and duty to edit if circumstances so indicate. He urges editors to tabulate, classify, and defend all emendations, and does so himself very fully. He admits the subjective factor and then seeks to control it. It might have been better not to repeat Miss Legge's comparison of a modern editor to a medieval scribe, since this is a misleading oversimplification. Professor Ham might have stressed the nature of his public. Thus a comparison of the 1931 with the present edition of this admittedly "un-literary" poem does not, in my opinion, support his contention (page 3) "that the *Venjance Alixandre* is a text which requires two editions—one according to the manuscript used in 1931, and another according to the British Museum version, which takes precedence here." A single critical edition with full apparatus should obviate the necessity of another text, and fully satisfy the needs of the only public for this poem—namely specialists in medieval literature and philology. The variants are fairly numerous but unimportant, and tell the same dull story.

The new edition, presented with modesty and caution, brings several improvements and corrections. The 1931 edition was based on *M* (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 24365) for understandable reasons. *M* was then highly regarded by most authorities. It was being considered as a possible text for several branches of the *Roman d'Alixandre*, and uniformity was thought desirable. There was also a tendency to carry over manuscript evaluations to the additions and interpolations of the romance. Later research has tended to discredit *M*, an intelligent but unreliable redactor. Professor Ham now considers *X* (British Museum, Royal 19 D i) of at least equal merit and uses it as a base for his 1946 text, with the support of *N* (Bibliothèque Nationale, fonds français 791) itself more highly regarded than heretofore.

One important result of the present manuscript evaluation is to make more suspect than ever *M*'s unsupported testimony that the author was

1. See his *Jehan le Nevelon—la Venjance Alixandre*, Elliott Monographs 27, 1931, and *Five Versions of the Venjance Alixandre*, Elliott Monographs 34, 1935, and also his article "An Eighth *Venjance Alixandre*," *MLN*, LVI (1941), 409-414.

named *Nevelon*. MSS *XNQ* read *Venelais*, and all precede the proper name by the definite article. The evidence is strong that *M* was indulging in another *lectio facillior*. As a place name from the north or northeast which might have yielded *Venelais*, Professor Ham has unearthed *Venelle*, a small river in the departments of Haute-Marne and Côte-d'Or, *Wanel*, a small village in the arrondissement of Abbeville, and his first choice—the village of *Vanlay*, some twenty miles south of Troyes. This last fits in nicely with the poet's language and his association with Henri le Libéral.

The text itself appears to be edited with care. Cross references should be given for the notes (promised on page 17) to lines 94, 628, 652, and 1251–1252. The 1946 edition is not self-sufficient, since the 1931 is needed for variants, the limited vocabulary, and as an aid to understanding some of the present notes. Corrections to the 1931 edition are listed on pages 104–107.

LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM

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Le Manuel des Péchés. Étude de littérature religieuse anglo-normande (XIII^{me} siècle). Par E. J. Arnould. Paris, Librairie E. Droz, 1940. Pp. ix + 451.

Dr. Arnould's *Étude* discusses problems which he has been considering while preparing a long-needed critical edition of the *Manuel des Péchés*. The book appeared in an unhappy year and could not reach an international public until recently. It is fortunate that the stock survived the hazards of war and that the fruits of so great an amount of work are now available for comparison with the findings of others working concurrently or subsequently in the same general field.

The *Manuel des Péchés*, an Anglo-Norman handbook for confession composed in the thirteenth century in England, has long been recognized as an important representative of the didactic and religious literature characteristic of English writing in all of the three languages current in the Angevin period, but it has been studied chiefly by those interested in the Middle English adaptation entitled *Handlyng Synne*, made by Robert Mannyng of Brunne. The *Manuel* as a study on its own account has hitherto fallen under the blight affecting Anglo-Norman literature in general and has not yet had a critical edition. Anglo-Norman has suffered much in the past from being treated, as Dr. Arnould so aptly says, like a poor relation of French and English. Recently, however, studies in this field have been undertaken more systematically and they seem now to be receiving some of the attention which is their due.¹ They still offer to the aspiring student a field which has not been overworked.

1. A survey of the history and state of Anglo-Norman studies by the present reviewer appeared in this journal in February, 1939, pp. 1–14, and a number of Anglo-Norman studies have been subsequently reviewed here.

Perhaps the most important contribution of the present book is the opening discussion (pages 1-59) of the role of the *Manuel* in presenting the substance of ecclesiastical decrees to the unlearned. This chapter is followed by one which seeks to determine which of the numerous extant manuscripts should furnish the basis for the critical text. From this study, "L'Élaboration du *Manuel des Péchés*" (Chapter II), Dr. Arnould concludes that the first five books and part of the seventh are authentic, the others being additions by other hands at different times.² Chapter V, on author and date of composition, also bears on the question of the basic manuscript. Dr. Arnould concurs in the general opinion, proposed by Miss Hope Allen in 1917, that "William of Waddington" is not an accurate attribution. The actual author remains unknown, as he wished; the William mentioned in some manuscripts was probably a copyist or reviser. Among the dozen or more variants of the place-name, Dr. Arnould considers the case strongest for a Waddington in Yorkshire (page 247). For the date of composition he proposes ca. 1260 (pages 253-256), which is presumably to be applied to Books I-V and part of VII. This is arrived at because of the *Manuel's* dependence on Guillaume Perrault's *Summa virtutum et vitiorum*, and Dr. Arnould asserts that paleography and language support such a dating (pages 255-256, 264-265). The problem of isolating the language of the original author from the later reworkings and copyings is, however, complex, and a full discussion awaits the definitive edition. The paleographical observations are offered in Appendix I and will be considered presently.

A long chapter (III) is devoted to the *exemplum* as a *genre* and to analysis and discussion of all the individual *exempla* in the *Manuel*. Some of this material is supplementary to earlier work done by Gaston Paris, Herbert, Welter and others.³ It is followed by a chapter on the sources considered under three heads: the *exempla*, the doctrine of Books I-V, and the additions. Dr. Arnould considers that both the plan and the treatment of the *Manuel* are furnished by the conciliar and episcopal decrees,⁴ and that

2. For another analysis of the MSS and text, supporting Dr. Arnould's in some points and disagreeing in others, see C. G. Laird in *Traditio*, IV (1946), 253-306 (including a brief survey of previous scholarship, pp. 253-256). Cf. also the abstract of Dr. Laird's dissertation, "The Source of Robert Mannyng of Brunne's *Handlyng Synne*, a study of the extant manuscripts of the Anglo-Norman *Manuel des Pechiez*," in *Stanford University Bulletin: Abstracts of Dissertations . . . 1939-1940* (Stanford, 1940), pp. 66-71; his articles in *Stanford Studies in Language and Literature*, ed. H. Craig (Stanford University, 1941), pp. 99-123 and *Modern Language Review*, XXXVIII (1943), 117-121; and his review of Arnould's *Étude* in *Speculum*, XX (1945), 99-103.

3. It may now be added that J. W. Adamson (*The Illiterate Anglo-Saxon and Other Essays on Education, Medieval and Modern*, Cambridge, 1946, ch. VI) argues for French origin toward the end of the twelfth century for the *De disciplina scoliarum*, contrary to Welter's opinion (*L'Exemplum . . .*, p. 188), based partly on J. Porcher's *École des Chartes* thesis (1920) and cited by Arnould (p. 110), that it is English of the first third of the thirteenth century.

4. A subsequent article by D. W. Robertson, Jr., supports Dr. Arnould's argument for a close connection between the contents of the *Manuel*, a confessional treatise for laymen, and treatises written by bishops to expound certain decrees for priests (*MLN*, LX

Perrault's *Summa* is the next most important source. The originality of the *Manuel*, as Dr. Arnould discusses it in the sixth chapter, lies chiefly in the poet's own observations of thirteenth-century life and *mores*. Parallels are drawn between the circumstances alluded to by the poet and the ecclesiastical decrees. The same chapter also considers the author's style in composition, language and versification. It is refreshing to find a French scholar willing to admit that Anglo-Norman verse is not necessarily barbarous because it does not conform to continental French rules of versification. No doubt we may allow to the medieval French of Angevin England its own norms of accepted usage just as such allowance is properly made to the modern English of other regions than the Thames valley. Dr. Arnould recognizes that Anglo-Norman of the thirteenth century was not fixed—or that it tolerated considerable freedom—in its representation of certain sounds in particular positions.

Il se trouve qu'en adoptant, pour chaque cas individuel, la théorie la plus favorable sur l'un ou l'autre de ces points, on arrive très souvent à obtenir le nombre strictement correct de syllabes. L'auteur n'a-t-il pu se permettre d'interpréter ces règles à sa convenance suivant le vers? (Page 260.)

The closing chapter deals with three translations and adaptations of the *Manuel* in Middle English: *Handlyng Synne*, the prose translation, and *Peter Idley's Instructions to his Son*.

The first appendix usefully brings together details about the appearance, history and contents of all the manuscripts,⁵ together with mention of other studies on them. It would perhaps have been more convenient for comparison and reference in tabular form. It is in these descriptions of the manuscripts that we are apparently expected to find the paleographical support of dating referred to above, for no fuller subsequent discussion of it is promised. A date is carefully assigned to each manuscript, but the method of arriving at the date is not clear: sometimes the dating is based on the script, sometimes on the language; often one cannot tell which consideration determined the decision. There is no doubt that philology should be invoked whenever appropriate in conjunction with paleographical judgments, just as paleographical considerations should be borne in mind by philologists. But neither study serves the other unless at each step the writer makes quite clear which elements are under consideration. If internal evidence proves that a given text cannot have been composed before, say, 1325, we must obviously revise our judgment of the script in which the text is found if we had previously supposed that style of handwriting to have died out before the end of the thirteenth century. On the other hand, we

[1945], 439–447); see also the same author in *Speculum*, XXII (1947), 162–185 on “The Cultural Tradition of *Handlyng Synne*.”

5. The well-known Rawlinson MS (R, in Dr. Arnould's *sigla*) is called Rwl. Poetry 241 in the Bodleian's *Summary Catalogue* (by F. Madan, Vol. III, Oxford, 1895, No. 14732). The Fairfax MS, cited on p. 397, is also in the Bodleian Library.

must reconsider grammatical forms which we have always thought were of a given period if advancing paleographical experience shows that the manuscripts in which they are found were probably written two or three generations earlier or later than had been thought.⁶

The second appendix presents three test passages as examples of a critical text based on examination of all the manuscripts, except Phillipps 2223⁷ which Dr. Arnould was unable to see. The test passages are important for their content: the prologue, the epilogue, and one of the longest and best *exempla* (Number 31, about Peter the toll-collector). They also serve to illustrate the characteristics of three separate manuscripts, since a different manuscript is used to establish the text of each passage. At the foot of the pages Dr. Arnould prints the corresponding passages from the hitherto unpublished English prose translation found in a Cambridge manuscript, St. John's College 197, and identified by Miss Allen in 1916.

The call to the colors in 1939 prevented Dr. Arnould from completing some references; without this interruption he would no doubt have been able also to check quotations and references and to remove many minor misprints. The composition of the "Liste des principaux ouvrages consultés" shows signs of this haste in the unevenness of its selections and arrangement.

It is to be hoped that Dr. Arnould has been able to resume the work interrupted by military service and that the companion volume of text with its promised philological study will soon appear.

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Bonino Mombrizio: La Légende de Sainte Catherine d'Alexandrie. Poème italien du XV^e siècle. Publié pour la première fois d'après le manuscrit unique de la Bibliothèque Royale de Belgique par Alphonse Bayot et Pierre Groult, Professeurs à l'Université de Louvain. Gembloux, Editions J. Ducolot, 1943. Pp. ix + 156.

The Legend of St. Catherine in the version of Mombrizio here appears as edited for the first time and from the unique manuscript which, we are told in the preface, was discovered in 1905 by Professor Bayot in the Royal Library of Brussels. It hardly merits, from a strictly literary point of view, the phrase "précieux poème" which is applied to it in Professor Groult's

6. A discussion of this point by S. H. Thomson was published in this journal in April 1938, pp. 112-119. Note, for instance, that Dr. Arnould finds the language of the *Manuel* in Cambridge University Library MS Mm.6.4 to be mid-fourteenth century, but he does not suggest a date for the script, save that by implication it could not be earlier than mid-fourteenth (pp. 376-378); whereas a Latin work by Grosseteste further along in the same volume is dated paleographically by Dr. Thomson as ca. 1300 (*The Writings of Robert Grosseteste*, Cambridge, 1940, p. 43). But were both pieces copied by the same or contemporary scribes?

7. The famous name is persistently misspelled. Dr. Laird has studied this MS: cf. note 2 above.

otherwise modest foreword. Mombrizio is known as a compiler of a collection of Saints' lives, called the *Sanctuarium* and originally published in 1480. The poem on St. Catherine is what one might expect from an author of those interests; it has little originality in content, following a Latin original with considerable fidelity and reflecting the kind of pious naïveté that we associate with the tenth and eleventh centuries more than with the early Renaissance. It is thus interesting merely as an example of the survival of an outdated mentality; indeed when we consider that Mombrizio was a contemporary of Poliziano and lived in the sophisticated court of the Sforzas we cannot but marvel at the persistence of this medieval form. To be sure the story is told in *terza rima*, but there too the handling of the medium is so clumsy—awkward phraseology and forced rhymes abound—that one would never think the author had been preceded by Dante and Petrarch.

However, the editors, in spite of the phrase mentioned above, may hardly be accused of lacking literary judgment. The text is interesting and possibly valuable from a linguistic point of view and it is this aspect of the work that engages their particular attention. Vocabulary, morphology and syntax are carefully studied and painstakingly codified. The numerous peculiarities of the poet are analyzed and the specific forms carefully catalogued and listed in the first 53 pages of the text. It is a thorough job and one dislikes to find fault with it, yet it must be said that something is missing, to wit, a summary or synthesis of what the language of the poem really is. There is a special list of Latinisms to be sure but little discussion of them and no indication at all of whether or not the other odd forms are dialectal, current fifteenth-century or simply the individual creations of the author. References to Bertoni's *Italia dialettale*, Meyer-Lübke's *Grammaire des langues romanes* and the like are copious but they do not solve all the problems. In a text primarily interesting for its language it would seem to be only fair to ask of the editors something a little more affirmative than a mere catalogue of forms. The Glossary is very brief; Professor Groult explains that this is so because of the great number of words discussed separately in the preliminary editorial material. Nevertheless a larger glossary with ample cross references would seem desirable from the point of view of the student's convenience. The book is well printed and, with the exceptions noted, well planned; I hope that the binder's mistake which in my copy places pages 55-70 between pages 38 and 39 has not been repeated in the entire edition.

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"Cette Affaire infernale." *L'Affaire J. J. Rousseau-David Hume*. Par Henri Guillemin. Paris, Plon, 1942. Pp. ii + 354.

Even the most discreet treatment of the Hume-Rousseau controversy is likely to draw each party's fire, with that of the Rousseauists usually pre-

dominating, because of their superior numbers and their atavistic fervor. M. Guillemin's thesis is so fantastic, his method so unorthodox and his style so incendiary, that they are sure to attract, even to invite, criticism from neutrals, whose only interest is to see that fair play is observed.

Although M. Guillemin, in his conclusion (page 345), is kind enough to state that Hume was not a really bad man, but was merely the unsuspecting tool of the *philosophes*, throughout the preceding 340 pages he presents him as not only a member of that clique, but a ranking member (page 340).

For the Rousseau-Hume quarrel, according to M. Guillemin, was not a personal matter, a clash of individual views or temperaments: it was a symbol, emblematic of the conflict between the infinitely greater protagonists, God and Satan, represented respectively by Rousseau and the *philosophes*, with Hume naturally included among the latter.

Even if one were to accept the dubious premise of a pan-European conspiracy against Rousseau, the inclusion of Hume in such a conspiracy is ridiculous and simply shows ignorance of Hume's life and character. His reputation as "le bon David" was not based on hypocrisy and an alleged control of the English press, as M. Guillemin would have us believe.

As to method, one could excuse M. Guillemin, as a "romantic biographer," for violating every rule of scholarship, if he had not, in his foreword, invoked the august authority of Sainte-Beuve, who must certainly still be twirling in his grave at this use of his name. If, instead of citing page 85 of the ninth volume of the *Nouveaux Lundis*, M. Guillemin had acted upon the excellent advice found in the following extract from page 87 of the same volume, the result must surely have been more pleasing to the great critic's ghost: "[Le critique devrait] se demander si c'est le bon texte, s'il n'y a pas d'altération, s'il a copié la réalité ou s'il a inventé . . ."

M. Guillemin attempts to impress his reader with the thoroughness of his documentation, but it is obvious to anyone familiar with the literature of the Hume-Rousseau affair that the only thing original about this work is its point of view. The author has chosen, from the materials at his disposal, only those items which he can twist to suit his convenience. He invariably accepts Rousseau's word against Hume's, whenever theirs is the only testimony available. He does not hesitate to accept (or to manufacture) translations of Hume's letters in which their original meaning is distorted. For example, whereas Hume actually criticized Walpole's letter as a "very indifferent joke," M. Guillemin pictures him condoning it as a "plaisanterie pure et sans importance," though he does have the good grace to quote the English text on this occasion.

There are numerous factual errors in this book, some of which we may explain by the author's readiness to accept certain secondary sources which tend to strengthen his position, without verifying from original ones. An instance of this is to be found in the eleventh chapter, where M. Guillemin builds up the "evidence" (the chapter is so entitled) of Hume's diabolic

purpose. This evidence is nothing more than the Walpole letter!

Car tout est clair, à présent, pour Jean-Jacques: cette révélation publique, en Angleterre, de la fameuse Lettre du Roi de Prusse, Hume en est, sinon l'artisan, du moins à coup sûr le complice. Où a-t-il paru d'abord, ce texte perfide? Dans la *Saint-James's Chronicle* dont le directeur est Strahan, vieil ami de l'Ecossois. (Page 144.)

If M. Guillemin had taken the slight pains to check his facts, and especially one of this gravity, instead of choosing to follow the untrustworthy lead of Frederika MacDonald, he might have learned that Hume's friend Strahan had not the slightest connection with the *Saint-James Chronicle*, but was the printer of its rival, the *London Chronicle*.

M. Guillemin's greatest transgression against the canons of scholarship is to be found, however, in his doctrinary use of fragments of data, often employed out of context and with deliberate anachronism. In a letter to the Comtesse de Boufflers, Hume described Thérèse as Rousseau saw her (*Letters of Hume*, Greig edition, II, 3):

He himself (Rousseau) owns her to be so dull, that she never knows in what year of the Lord she is, nor in what month of the year, nor in what day of the month or week; and that she can never learn the different value of the pieces of money in any country.

For M. Guillemin, this passage is only indicative of Hume's mercenary spirit; he ends his translation of it as follows: "et même—c'est un comble—elle 'ignore la valeur de l'argent!'" (The exclamation point is M. Guillemin's own idea.)

M. Guillemin's style is that of the popular lecturer, more concerned with the sighs and chuckles of an audience than with the sober search for truth. His imagination is called upon freely to fill in factual lacunae and is combined with indefatigable irony in an endeavor to convert the reader, if not to convince him. Hume's "campaign" against Rousseau is described in terms of an actual strategic plan, made vivid by references to the "zone ennemie" and "travaux d'investissement." But the climactic display of M. Guillemin's platform technique is to be seen in his frequent use of Hume's belly as the target of his satire. When Hume invited Rousseau to join him in Paris, in view of their imminent departure for England together, "Jean-Jacques avait couru se jeter, s'abattre presque contre une poitrine où vivrait un cœur fraternel. Il se heurtait à un ventre, à l'obésité fleurie d'un homme du monde." (Page 66.) Victor Hugo is quoted, on page 97, note 1:

"Un gros ventre, note Victor Hugo, passe pour signe de bonté"; il est vrai que la phrase poursuit par ces mots (c'est dans *L'Homme Qui Rit*, II, i, vii): "mais ce ventre s'ajoutait à l'hypocrisie de Barkilphède."

And again, on page 274, this lecturer's comment on a passage from a letter to Hume: "David mué en archange obèse."

It can be said to the credit of M. Guillemin's originality that no one has hitherto recognized the important role which Hume's belly played in his quarrel with Rousseau.

W. T. BANDY

University of Wisconsin

Literary Origins of Surrealism. A New Mysticism in French Poetry. By Anna Balakian. New York, King's Crown Press, 1947. Pp. xii + 160.

Il fallait quelque hardiesse pour s'attaquer au sujet traité dans ce livre: Anna Balakian doit être félicitée de n'en avoir pas manqué. Car elle connaît fort bien la poésie française, la goûte avec finesse, la juge avec sûreté et pénétration. Son ouvrage témoigne d'une réelle originalité. Il apporte la promesse d'études ultérieures où le surréalisme pourrait être saisi d'avantage en son essence.

Il s'agissait ici, non point de rechercher des sources ou d'esquisser la genèse du mouvement surréaliste, mais de l'éclairer par l'étude de certains précurseurs envisagés sous leur angle "surréaliste" avant la lettre. Ces révolutionnaires que furent à leurs débuts, et que sont restés parfois, Breton et ses amis ne dédaignèrent pas, on le sait, de se trouver des ancêtres dans les siècles passés. Que leur doivent-ils au juste?

L'auteur définit avec raison le Surréalisme comme un mouvement destructeur, qui se dressa contre les conceptions courantes de la réalité, de la nature, de la matière, et contre la pensée rationnelle aussi bien que la morale acceptée; mais cette fureur iconoclaste dissimulait à peine une angoisse secrète, un ardent besoin de foi, et une volonté presque cartésienne de rebâtir après avoir fait table rase. S'ils refusent la religion traditionnelle, la morale conventionnelle, et la raison et la science qui se sont avérées impuissantes à changer l'homme, les surréalistes ont crié de plus en plus haut leur adoration de l'amour et leur ambition d'unir dans une synthèse mystique "la vie et la mort, le réel et l'imaginaire, le passé et le futur, le communicable et l'inconnu." Ils ont déshumanisé l'art en apparence et ont brisé avec nos habitudes littéraires et visuelles, parfois pour nous bousculer et nous vexer, mais dans le fond pour s'élancer vers un nouvel absolu et tenter un effort éperdu d'évasion hors de l'humain. "Un homme qui n'a jamais tenté de se faire semblable aux dieux, c'est moins qu'un homme." Cette phrase du très lucide créateur de Monsieur Teste devrait servir d'épigraphe à bien des hardiesses surréalistes. Anna Balakian a le mérite d'avoir aperçu et mis en valeur tout ce qu'il y a de mysticisme dans le Surréalisme. L'évolution récente du mouvement, l'*Arcane 17* de Breton, son remarquable *Discours aux étudiants de Yale*, ses déclarations depuis son retour en France ont fait apparaître le Surréalisme sous ce jour, qui n'a pas échappé à l'auteur de ce livre: une tentative pour créer un mythe. Armand Hoog citait dans le numéro 33 de *La Nef* une confession du pape, ou plutôt du mage du Surréalisme, qui confirme les conclusions implicites du

présent livre: "La connaissance scientifique de la nature ne saurait avoir de prix qu'à la condition que le contact avec la nature par les voies poétiques et, j'oserais dire, mythiques, puisse être rétabli."

Les derniers chapitres du livre d'Anna Balakian déçoivent quelque peu; ils dégagent mal ce que le Surréalisme a pu avoir en commun avec ses divers prédecesseurs et ce qu'il a ajouté de foncièrement neuf à l'héritage par eux transmis. Les premiers chapitres sont riches en remarques très personnelles sur des auteurs cependant déjà souvent étudiés. Avec finesse, l'auteur marque les traits par où la révolte surréaliste diffère de la révolte romantique, française et allemande. Nerval lui-même, qui explora le rêve et l'épancha dans la vie réelle, respecta l'ordre, les valeurs morales et religieuses, et ne se posa point en révélateur d'un inconnu monstrueux. Baudelaire est davantage, surtout par ses *Paradis artificiels* auxquels Anna Balakian accorde avec raison une importance significative, l'ancêtre de la révolte surréaliste contre la nature et la société, et le pionnier d'une étrange sur-logique due au hachich. Les rapports, restés assez mystérieux, entre les surréalistes et Lautréamont, "à qui incombe peut-être pour la plus grande part la responsabilité de l'état de choses poétique actuel," déclara en 1922 Breton, méritent d'être fouillés plus qu'ils ne le sont ici. Les pages sur Rimbaud sont ingénieuses: elles expliquent son œuvre par tout ce que persiste chez lui d'enfance, et l'opposent au mysticisme plus conscient et aux prétentions métaphysiques des surréalistes. Mallarmé est paradoxalement et curieusement présenté, notamment par son *Ignitur*, comme un devancier ignoré de la descente dans le néant et de l'athéisme mystique des surréalistes. Enfin le véritable gouffre qui sépare le Surréalisme du mouvement symboliste, si souvent égaré dans des rêveries décoratives ou dans des jeux naïvement compliqués, est indiqué avec netteté.

Le livre d'Anna Balakian, écrit avec vivacité, ne souffre presque jamais des défauts habituels de nos thèses universitaires. Ça et là, les citations sont prodiguées avec trop d'abondance; un léger excès d'allusions (à Hugo qui aurait mérité tout un chapitre s'il devait être introduit ici, à Balzac, à Cournot, Janet, Guyau, etc.) frise parfois le pédantisme et l'évite de justesse. L'agilité d'esprit de l'auteur rend à l'occasion la lecture de son livre difficile, et dissimule trop les liens entre les idées ou les conclusions poursuivies. Les épreuves ont été relues un peu vite: c'est ainsi que "revenu," page 41, "Réville," page 65, historien des religions assez connu au siècle dernier, "impossible," page 70, "voile," page 73, "inspecter," page 78, "à," page 79, "arachnéen," page 95, "Laforgue," page 99 note, "aristocrates," page 133, "matérialisme," page 140, "Gascoyne," page 149, sont mal orthographiés. Au troisième vers cité page 102 il faut ajouter le petit mot "tout" après l'article indéfini. A la bibliographie manquent les importants ouvrages de Nadeau, *Histoire du Surréalisme*, et de Monnerot, *La Poésie moderne et le sacré*, parus en 1945, l'article profond de Blanchot dans *L'Arche* d'août 1945, et celui, curieux, de Carrouges dans la revue catholique *La Vie Intel-*

lectuelle de novembre 1945. *La Situation du Surréalisme entre les deux guerres* de Breton, parue dans VVV en 1943 et le texte essentiel d'Eluard, "Evidence poétique" dans *Donner à voir* (1939) auraient dû être inclus dans l'utile liste d'ouvrages qui termine ce livre fort distingué, que d'autres désormais doivent suivre.

HENRI PEYRE

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The Journals of André Gide. Translated from the French, with an Introduction and Notes, by Justin O'Brien. Volume I: 1889-1913. New York, Alfred A. Knopf, 1947. Pp. xx + 390 + xix.

In recent months André Gide has had a good press in the United States. He has found himself spread on the first page of the *New York Times Book Review* at the same time that he has commanded a very respectable amount of space in other publications. This is a fitting tribute to the most profound writer, Proust not excepted, of twentieth-century French literature, and, for the literate American public whose ideas on contemporary French literature may have become distorted by the current existentialist smoke screen, this reintroduction to a powerful figure should have a salutary effect. The pretext and incentive for the dialogue on Gide is, of course, Professor Justin O'Brien's translation of the *Journals of André Gide* which critics have acclaimed as the work of an eminent English stylist.

This translation is also a work of scholarship. The annotations of the (originally) almost unannotated *Journals* are invaluable. Professor O'Brien has run down most of the literary references, and has pursued the purposely obscured references to individuals with great zeal. Gide himself aided in this enterprise and the Glossary of Persons which resulted runs to thirty pages of information precious to every student of Gide and to be consulted profitably by anyone working in contemporary French literature. Professor O'Brien, who regards the translation as preparation for an eventual study of Gide (*France-Amérique*, September 21, 1947), will doubtless concern himself with the problem of relating the *Journals* to Gide's other books. There is still work to be done in dating passages in the *Journals* more accurately than Gide has done and in studying the development of Gide's thought.

Undoubtedly translation is a costly method for studying the subtleties of an author's thought or style. But Gide himself has demonstrated that translation, properly practiced, can be both a creative process and a means to greater understanding. Probably Gide's own example inspired Professor O'Brien to undertake this task which he has so far had time to complete only through the first volume (equivalent to 383 pages of the 1320-page *Pléiade* edition which must still be augmented by recently published supplements). It is very likely that the French scholar will find occasional profit

1. Since this was written Gide has received the Nobel prize.

in consulting the O'Brien translation;² but Professor O'Brien's service to the common reader is even greater; the translated *Journals* offer a chance to know a more authentic Gide than the one he may have encountered previously in the *Counterfeiters*. The twelve-page introductory essay on Gide, which is both informative and persuasive, will also be helpful.

In this essay, Professor O'Brien likens Gide's *Journals* to Montaigne's *Essays* and to Goethe's *Conversations with Eckermann*, and, on the jacket of the book, someone (I don't know whether it is Professor O'Brien) predicts that the *Journals* may one day become "the Montaigne's *Essays* of our age." The parallel is certainly apt. There is no doubt that the publication of the *Journals* has increased the moral stature of André Gide by revealing the more human side of his nature (his love of animals, his innate humility, etc.) and by disclosing his thought unadulterated by fiction, but all of Gide is not in the *Journals*, which seem to be largely a stylistic exercise (and how successful!) to overcome his inherent tendency to labor over style and to write with difficulty. Above all the *Journals* are rarely a confession and shed less light than the works of art on the vast inner struggle in Gide. Perhaps we should be thankful that the *Journals* maintain a humanistic dignity, but the gap is still there. Likewise the *Journals* do not seek to be, at least not essentially, a chronicle of events—many important events, personal and literary, are unrecorded: we learn little about the founding of the *Nouvelle Revue Française* except that correcting proofs took some time and that Gide himself had to copy the list of the five hundred or more subscribers. Nor are the *Journals* the raw materials of which Gide's books are made; they are not another *Journal des Faux-Monnayeurs* or a *Journal d'Edouard*. Rather we feel occasionally that Gide, when composing a work of art, is too busy to take us into his confidence; of the creative process we see only the insomnia and the headaches. With all these seeming gaps, however, the *Journals* are a powerful work because Gide used them frequently to explore his thought long before it crystallized in a work of art; the *Journals* register the thinking processes of one of the most subtle minds of our times. In fact, Gide is so essentially a thinker that he can seldom cut his works of art adrift; his characters are still gaunt abstractions who defy the usual laws of artistic creation. In many ways the works of art are more provocative than the *Journals*, but through the use of fiction, or as a result of distillation of the thought, they frequently cause Gide to be misunderstood. Gide himself has so many times insisted that his works are a whole (a reference to his 1946 *Thésée* as early as 1911 is only one instance of this) that it is essential to recognize the interdependence of the *Journals* themselves and the works of art. The *Journals* in themselves are so far

2. I have purposely avoided mentioning picayune discrepancies in the translation. But I cannot help being amused by Professor O'Brien's extensive use of the vernacular. By what stretch of the imagination, for example, does "parti-pris" become "sheer cussedness" (p. 156)?

from being a whole that I wonder to what extent the uninitiated reader will be baffled by the gaps. At any rate, I am sure that his interest will not wane in spite of that because the *Journals* are a series of brilliant improvisations: the pursuit of a thought, a self-analysis, a chance encounter, an estimate of a person like Valéry, a visit to an exotic scene in Africa or Asia Minor, where Gide records his sensations with even more vividness than in the *Nourritures Terrestres*.

As Gide matures and as his *Journals* progress, the record of his thoughts and actions becomes even more interesting. It is to be hoped that Professor O'Brien will find the time in the next few years to complete this monumental translation which has already done so much to enhance the standing of contemporary French letters in this country.

DOUGLAS W. ALDEN

Princeton University

Les Variations de l'h secondaire en Ardenne liégeoise. Le Problème de l'h en liégeois. Par Louis Remacle. (Bibliothèque de la Faculté de Philosophie et Lettres de l'Université de Liège, Fascicule XCVI) Paris, E. Droz, 1944. Pp. 438.

Professor Remacle of the University of Liège started out to write a general study of the patois of the "Ardenne liégeoise" and ended by expanding his chapter on *h* into a sizable thesis. Neither the title nor the subtitle indicate adequately the extent of his researches, which included a study of Spanish *jota* and the evolution of *sk* in English, or his contribution. Romance and Germanic philologists will find many valuable observations on the broader aspects of the subject.

Secondary *h* (*h*₂) refers not to the Germanic *h* (*h*₁) once common to most of Gaul and now characteristic of East-Walloon ("liégeois et ardennais") but to the *h* which evolved phonetically from Romance and is characteristic of "liégeois" in the broad sense. Direct evidence on the various *h* sounds in use in the dialects in question was obtained through a series of investigations oral and written over a period of years. Although not all were directed to the specific purpose of the present study, the evidence is sufficient, covers the territory satisfactorily, and includes more than one generation of speakers. Literary sources both contemporary and historical were analyzed exhaustively.

Professor Remacle uses definitions more precise than those of his predecessors. Thus, between the positions of the pure laryngeal aspirate *h* and the prepalatal *ʃ*, he distinguishes the following five fricatives: (1) *ʃ̥* "fricative uvulaire vibrante," (2) *x* "fricative palatale ou vélaire, mais non vibrante"—the German *ach-laut* and Spanish *jota*, (3) *ʃ̣* a variant of *x* after front vowels, (4) *ç* (or *hy*) "fricative palatale avec mouillure"—German *ich-laut* and sometimes written *xy*, (5) *ç̣* a variant between *ç* and *ʃ̣* with

more "chuintement" than "mouillure." In general h_2 derives from these sources: intervocalic c before e and i either before or after the accent; intervocalic ty , sy , ssy , sty , x (ks); sc in all positions and even before l and r ; intervocalic ss ; occasionally initial s plus a vowel and s plus the liquids l and n . With these formulas the author is able to rectify several etymologies. Phoneticians will be interested in the details of the evolutionary process. Germanic h is preserved in East-Walloon alone, and only in initial position. Present day "liégeois" has only one h whatever the source.

A solid chapter on the historical orthography of h_2 clarifies the meaning of the xh symbol in particular, and the changes taking place in the various dialect areas such as the hy zone. The history of h_2 in Northeast Gaul as compared with developments in Spanish and Catalan shows that the fricative h was by no means rare in Romance, and that Germanic influence is not needed. It indicates also that the Lorraine and Walloon dialects were once closely related and later were separated by such developments as the retreat of h_2 in Luxembourg. A strong case is made against attributing to Germanic influence the preservation of h_1 in that it is disappearing from nearby German areas and is a regular part of the phonemic structure of Walloon. The case is even stronger for the Romance origin of h_2 . Yet h is in grave danger of disappearing, not merely because of its inherent weakness, but because of the encroachment of ch —a sound characteristic of the southern Ardennes and clearly shown by the dialect maps to be moving north, and also of French, a major force.

Professor Remacle's thesis, with its exhaustive detail and despite its avowed insufficiencies, is a major contribution to the dialect studies of Walloon. It contains many maps, etymological and lexicographical indexes, and an adequate bibliography.

LAWTON P. G. PECKHAM

Columbia University

NOTES FOR CONTRIBUTORS

1. All manuscripts should be typewritten and double-spaced with ample margins.
2. Quotations in any language of over four or five typewritten lines will generally be printed in small roman as separate paragraphs (set-down matter). In the typescript such extracts should be in a separate paragraph single-spaced and should not be enclosed in quotation marks.
3. Titles of books and periodicals will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Titles of articles, chapters and poems should be in roman enclosed in quotation marks.
4. In titles of English publications, in titles of periodicals in any language except German and in divisions of English works (parts, chapters, sections, poems, articles, etc.), the first word and all the principal words should be capitalized. Ex:

The Comedy of Errors

In the *Romanic Review* there appeared an article entitled "Flaubert's Correspondence with Louise Colet, Chronology and Notes."

Such a repetition may be found in the Preface. (But: James Gray wrote the preface for the second edition.)

5. In an English passage French titles should have the article capitalized and underlined as part of the title. Ex: He read *La France vivante*. In a French passage, the article should be neither capitalized nor underlined. Ex: Il a lu *la France vivante et l'Histoire de la littérature française* de Lanson.
6. In an English passage, French and Italian titles should be capitalized as follows. The first word is always capitalized. If a substantive immediately follows an initial article, definite or indefinite, it is also capitalized. If the substantive is preceded by an adjective, this also receives a capital letter. If the title begins with any other word than an article or an adjective, the words following are all in lower-case. Ex: *Les Femmes savantes*; *La Folle Journée*; *L'Âge ingrat*; *De la terre à la lune*; *Sur la piste*; *La Leda senza cigno*; *Scrittori del tempo nostro*; *I Narratori*; *Nell'azzurro*; *Piccolo Mondo antico*.
7. Spanish titles should have a capital only on the first word unless the title contains a proper noun. Ex: *Cantigas de amor e de maldizer*; *La perfecta casada*.
8. Words or phrases not in the language of the article, and not yet naturalized, will be italicized and should be underlined in the typescript. Consult the dictionary if in doubt. Ex: *genre*, *pièce à thèse*, *ancien régime*, *Zeitgeist*.
9. All quotations should correspond exactly with the original in wording, spelling, and punctuation. Words or phrases in quotations must not be italicized or underlined unless they are so in the original or unless it is indicated in a footnote that the italics have been added. Any interpolation in an extract should be indicated by enclosing it in brackets; any omission should be indicated by three periods. Ex: "It is this work [*Le Lys dans la vallée*] which—"; "Il est . . . absorbé par des travaux—."
10. Footnotes should be numbered consecutively throughout each article or book review. In the text the note number should be printed as a superior figure (slightly above the typed line); at the head of the note itself, it should be a figure of normal size followed by a period (on a level with the typed line). Ex: At eighteen, he moved to Paris.¹
 1. John Palmer, *Studies in the Contemporary Theatre*, p. 48.
11. Footnotes may be typed into the article itself, separated from the text by ruled lines, or subjoined to the end of the text, on separate pages.
12. Note numbers in the text always follow the punctuation. Ex: There is no ques-

tion as to the date of this edition.² As Flaubert stated,³ he was willing to—

13. Short references included in the text to save footnotes, should be enclosed in parentheses and should not contain abbreviations. In book-reviews this is often the easiest way to make a direct reference to the work which is being reviewed. Ex: In the Introduction (page 10), the author remarks—.
14. Names should never be abbreviated. Even the name of the author of a work which is being reviewed should be written out each time that it is used.
15. All footnotes must begin with a capital letter and end with a period or some other final punctuation. Each note should contain an exact reference to the page or pages in question; the title is rarely enough. If a footnote refers to the same title cited in the preceding note, *ibid.* should be used to avoid repeating the title. If a note refers to a work already cited, but not cited in the preceding footnote, *op. cit.* should be used for a book, *loc. cit.* for an article. Such abbreviations should not ordinarily be used to refer farther back than the preceding page. Since the aim, however, is merely to avoid ambiguity, no rule need be laid down. Ex:
 10. Cross, Slover, *Ancient Irish Tales*, p. 35.
 11. Loomis, *Celtic Myth and Arthurian Romance*, p. 90.
 12. *Ibid.*, pp. 96-97.
 13. W. A. Nitze, "Lancelot and Guenevere," *Speculum*, VIII, 240.
 14. Loomis, *op. cit.*, p. 131.
 15. Nitze, *loc. cit.*, p. 249.
16. In the citation of references the amount of bibliographical detail is left to the discretion of the contributor, but the order of the items should be presented as indicated below. Inclusion of items (3), (4), and (5) is optional with the contributor.

In the case of books cited, the form of reference should be as follows: (1) author's name, preceded by his first name or initials, (2) the title italicized (underlined), (3) where necessary, the

edition, (4) place of publication, (5) name of publisher, (6) date of publication, (7) reference to volume in capital roman numerals without preceding 'Vol.' or 'V.', (8) reference to page in arabic numerals, preceded by 'p.' or 'pp.' only when there is no preceding reference to volume. Each item but the last should be followed by a comma; the last item should be followed by a period. Ex:

Albert Thibaudet, *Histoire de la littérature française de 1789 à nos jours*, Paris, Stock, 1936, p. 60.

H. O. Taylor, *The Mediaeval Mind*, 4th ed., New York, Macmillan, 1925, II, 221, 225.

17. Reference to periodicals should include, wherever possible, volume number and page number or numbers. Where it is desirable to give the year also, it should follow the volume number, in parentheses. When it is impossible to give a volume number, the date of the issue should take its place. Ex:

La Nouvelle Revue Française, II (1909), 224.

Les Nouvelles Littéraires, 30 juillet 1932, p. 8.

18. The following periodicals should be abbreviated as follows in footnotes:

Gröbers Grundriss der romanischen Philologie—GG

Modern Language Journal—MLJ

Modern Language Notes—MLN

Modern Philology—MP

Publications of the Modern Language Association—PMLA

Romania—R

Revue d'Histoire Littéraire de la France—RHL

Revue de Littérature Comparée—RLC

Romanic Review—RR

Zeitschrift für französische Sprache und Literatur—ZFSL

Zeitschrift für romanische Philologie—ZRP

19. The following Latin words and abbreviations will be italicized and should be underlined in typescript. They should be capitalized only

when they begin a footnote. *ca.* (about, in dates), *e.g.* (for instance), *et al.* (and others), *ibid.* (not *ib.* or *idem.*, the same reference), *i.e.* (that is), *loc. cit.* (place cited), *op. cit.* (work cited), *passim* (here and there), *sic* (thus), *vs.* (versus). Exceptions are: etc., viz.

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